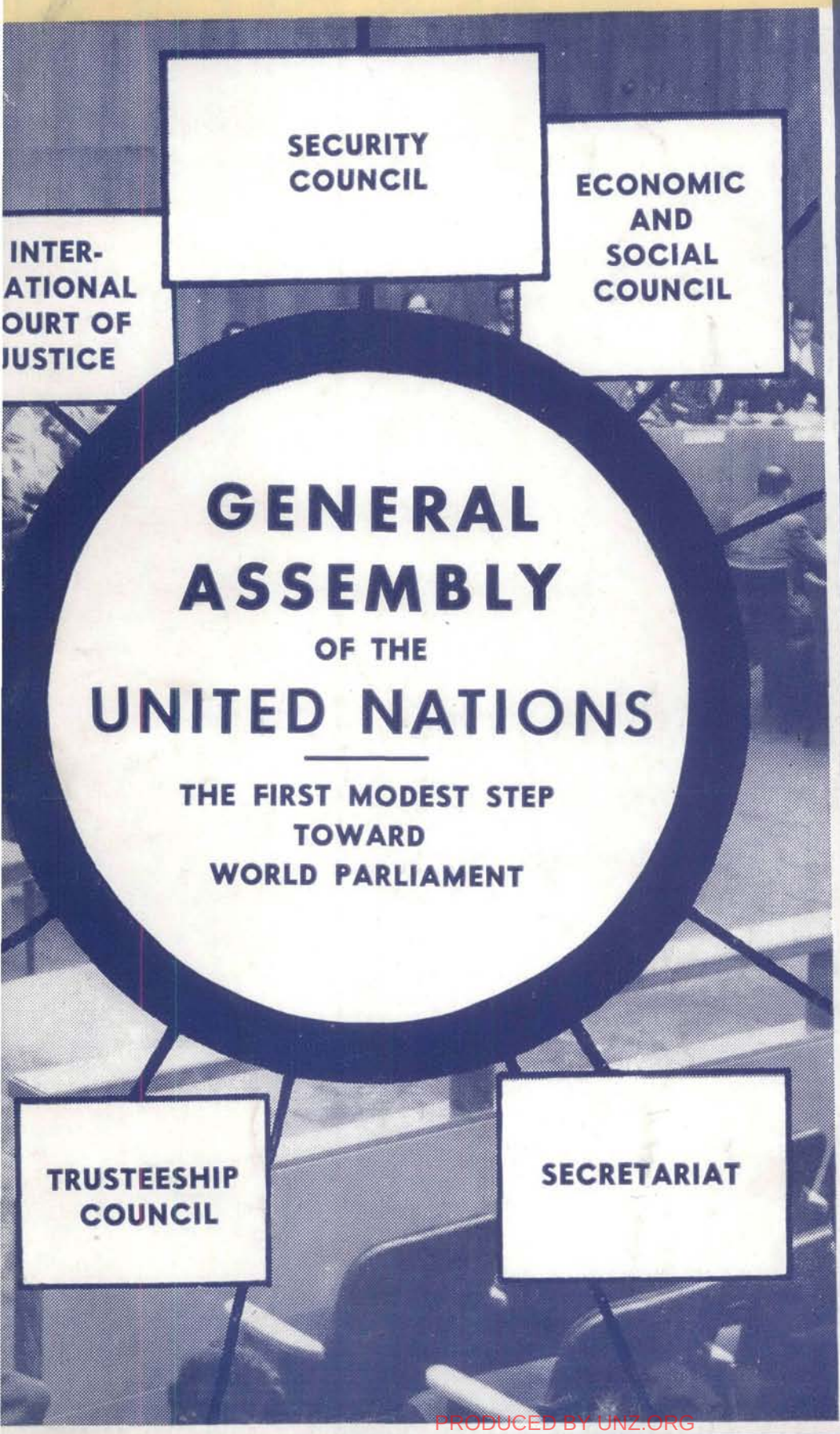
FREE WORLD

AN INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS



OCTOBER, 1946

UN IN ACTION

ALEXANDER CADOGAN

QUINCY WRIGHT

LOUIS DOLIVET

EDOUARD HERRIOT
GERMAN PSYCHOLOGY

GREECE
W. W. WAYMAC

EDUCATION
W. S. GIVEN

BOOK REVIEWS b
MAX LERNER
DAVID CORT
DAVID MUZZEY
ALICE HACKETT
and others

IN CANADA 50c 40

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The State of the World.

October, 1946

WILL THE ASSEMBLY DECIDE TO SHIFT THE UN FROM THE U. S.?

Since the undercurrent of dissatisfaction among the delegations is so great there may be some suggestions to move the headquarters of the UN back to Europe. Some delegates think that the temporary headquarters should be in Geneva until a real world capital is established in the U. S.; while others think that headquarters should be permanently in Europe. It is rumored that the Soviet delegation, which was very much opposed to the choice of Europe as headquarters, and which strongly insisted on a U. S. site, has shifted its position and would now be ready to consider a transfer to Geneva or another European capital. On the other hand, it is also rumored that Great Britain, originally in favor of keeping UN headquarters in Europe, now prefers a U. S. site.

Of course, most delegates agree that in view of the fact that the U. S. has already been chosen as permanent headquarters, it would be very unsound psychologically to move at present and that, after all, housing and transportation difficulties would be encountered everywhere. Also, the U. S. is certainly going to make great efforts to overcome these difficulties as quickly as possible. Therefore much will depend on the ability of national and local authorities to provide—in cooperation with the Secretariat—a complete plan of greater facilities at temporary headquarters and a site which does not elicit any more shocking meetings of protest.

The housing facilities for temporary headquarters must be very large, for it is of great importance to the future of the UN that many, if not all, intergovernmental agencies be given ample accommodations to have either their headquarters or at least important offices at the seat of the UN.

COMPLAINTS ABOUT NEW YORK HOTELS

Members of the delegations are complaining very bitterly about the way they are being treated in New York hotels. While they understand that the housing shortage affects everyone, still they cannot understand why some of the members of the delegations are housed 3 and 4 in a room. The other day the President of the Economic and Social Council received the following curt note from the management of a large New York hotel: "You will have to leave your room in 3 days. No prolongation will be granted."

We have often heard delegates exclaim: "Why in heaven's name did they want us to come to the U. S., if it is really such a burden to house delegates who, in many cases, travel 3,000 uncomfortable miles from their homes to get here? If they have no room, it would have been much better to let us stay in Geneva."

"STREAMLINED PRISON" – UN Headquarters

Lake Success—The choice of the Sperry Plant at Lake Success as temporary headquarters of the UN was a definite mistake. Working conditions are so terrible that some members of the staff have already resigned on the sole ground that they couldn't spend their lives in what the personnel commonly calls a "streamlined prison," a "coffin" and similar terms.

A secretary who earns between $200-$250 a month leads a life something like this: She spends between 2½ and 4 hours a day commuting back and forth to New York. She gets up at dawn, takes a bus or subway to the railroad station and travels to Jamaica where there is always a long wait for the too-few UN busses shuttling between train and plant. She then goes to her office which in most cases is not entirely enclosed, where voices and telephone bells of 4 or 5 adjacent offices are plainly audible, and works the whole day under artificial light without a breath of fresh air. The restaurant, a vast cafeteria, is so crowded at mealtime that it is anything but restful. At 5:00 or 5:30 she faces the long trek home, where she arrives exhausted.

ATLANTIC CHARTER—SOUTH AFRICA

New York—Close to a century ago, Hindus started migrating to South Africa which was in need of labor for the development of its railways, sugar plantations and coal mines. The British Government had promised that "there shall not be, in the eyes of the law, any discrimination based on color, race or creed." Gradually, the Indians who now number 250,000, were deprived of their parliamentary and municipal votes and submitted to segregation. The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, the worst of nearly sixty discriminatory laws, limits the property rights of these people, segregates them and confines their ownership and occupation to restricted areas. Under the terms of this law, three non-Indians are to represent the Indian population in a Parliament of 153 Europeans.

Several hundred Indians have been imprisoned.

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Sentences of hard labor were inflicted on many for engaging in passive resistance and defying the "Ghetto Act."

In protest the Government of India recalled their High Commissioner, severed trade relations and is applying economic sanctions against South Africa.

India's complaint has been filed with the UN and is scheduled to be put before the General Assembly.

P. S.: The government of General Smuts has requested that the mandate of Southwest Africa be entrusted to the Union of South Africa.

THE NEW FRENCH ARMY

Paris—M. Michelet, French Minister of War, recently stated the Government's program for the new French army. The financial situation of France and the needs of reconstruction have compelled the French Government to cut military appropriations. The program calls for an army of technicians —an army of professional soldiers, specialists serving longer than the customary period as well as of recruits provided by the yearly contingents of the draft. The Minister stated the desirability of putting a heavy emphasis on the airborne character of the French armed forces.

After pointing out that the army purge of collaborationists had resulted in the loss of four thousand officers, M. Michelet forecast the elimination of the caste system and the linking of the army to the people. He closed his remarks in referring to Péguy who had said that it was because of the French soldier that French was spoken in Paris and added "We realize this very clearly, those of us who recently had four years to note that because there had not been enough French soldiers, German was spoken there . . ."

A NEW POLITICAL PARTY IN CHINA

Nanking—It is reported that leading members of the Democratic League, Dr. Carson Chang and Mr. Chang Tung-sun, are organizing a new political party to be called Democratic Socialist Party. The new organization will be a merger of the National Socialist Party, and the overseas Constitutional Party, consisting mainly of overseas Chinese and with headquarters in the United States and the Philippines. As the British Labor Party, the D.S.C. will strive to achieve socialism by means of evolution through parliamentary channels.

"BLOOD WEDDING" IN TEL AVIV

Tel Aviv—The Jews of Palestine, despite the many worries and problems that beset them, in these critical days of political and national struggle, managed to remember the struggle of democratic Spain. "Blood Wedding" by Garcia Lorca, one of the many vicitms of Franco, was recently perforemd by the Chamber Theatre in Tel Aviv and was enthusiastically received by the audience.

U. S. SPEAKS TO THE RUSSIANS

Moscow—*America Illustrated,* the magazine published in Russian by the U. S. State Department, has now a distribution of 50,000 copies within the Soviet Union. When first sold in January of 1945, the distribution was 10,000 copies. The magazine sells for ten rubles and is illustrated. The latest issue carries a lead editorial outlining President Truman's twelve points of American foreign policy. The issue contains articles covering industrial life, U. S.-Soviet relations as featured in the *New York Herald Tribune* Forum speeches, the U. S. Treasury Department, and such items of Americana as Joe Louis, U. S. Naval Academy, and fashions.

LATIN AMERICAN PROVING GROUND

New York—Franco's Trojan horse continues to gallop across Latin America.

Capitalizing on the high popularity of Federico Garcia Lorca's poetry in Latin America, Franco's Ministry of Education has announced its plan to bring out an expensive edition of his works to be sold in the Americas, helping to bring foreign exchange into Spain and thus killing two birds with one stone: The fact that Lorca was assassinated by Falange henchmen doesn't seem to bother Franco.

The recent inauguration of Colombian President Ospena Perez was graced by the presence of Eduardo Marquina, special ambassador of Franco. A committee of specialists in Latin American affairs and twenty-two boxes of propaganda literature were part of the mission. The special ambassador stated Franco's belief "that the best expression of international good-will consists of cultural interchange and friendship, rather than politics." (Shades of Goebbels!). After the ceremonies the delegation broke up into two groups. One will tour Ecuador, Peru, Argentina and Brazil, the other will carry Franco's "friendship" to Central America.

CZECH FOREIGN TRADE TRENDS

Prague—Figures released by the Czechoslovak Statistical Office provide interesting indication as to present-day trends in Czechoslovakia's foreign trade. According to statistics covering the first six months of 1946, exports totaled $78,580,000 and imports totaled $63,980,000, thus showing a favorable balance of $14,600,000. A break-down of Czechoslovakia's foreign trade follows:

	Exports	Imports
Switzerland	$19,356,000	$6,436,000
U.S.S.R.	10,134,000	10,050,000
U.S.A.	7,204,000	1,052,000
Austria	6,948,000	4,402,000
Sweden	6,192,000	5,924,000
Denmark	3,974,000	2,780,000
Holland	3,692,000	3,394,000
France	2,920,000	1,596,000
Hungary	2,495,000	7,824,000
Germany	1,866,000	3,570,000
Great Britain	1,792,000	2,286,000
All others	12,005,000	14,666,000

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On the Eve of the General Assembly

An Editorial

THE forthcoming General Assembly of the United Nations will constitute a major political test of the vitality of the new world organization. For at that gathering it will become much clearer whether the delegates of the fifty-one (soon to be fifty-four) United Nations governments are determined to use this unique world platform for a thorough-going debate on the essential political, social, economic and educational problems of humanity; or whether they will content themselves with merely putting up a big show, leaving all the essential and controversial issues to futile diplomatic tergiversations.

The duty of the delegates to adopt the first alternative is inherent in the very constitution of the United Nations, which conceives of the Assembly as the main source of inspiration for the development of international cooperation.

As a matter of fact, this Assembly is really the first political gathering of the United Nations, for the two previous conferences were definitely limited in scope—the one at San Francisco to the drafting of the Charter, and that at London to the establishment of the Organization.

DELEGATES to the Assembly cannot—and must not—fail to observe that the political situation of the world has deteriorated to an almost disastrous extent. Less than eighteen months after victory the world is deeply divided, not only into the two great blocs of East and West, but into many ideological camps ranging from communism or democracy to feudalism or fascism.

The reconstruction of devastated areas, the care of millions of people made homeless by the war, international economic cooperation, political settlements of disputed territories and areas —all are lagging far behind, with the result that in many parts of the world human beings are suffering economically every bit as much as they were during the war. *No delegation of any of the United Nations has the moral right to assert before the Assembly that its country has completely fulfilled the obligations of the Charter.* All member-nations, whether large or small, are still invoking the letter of the Charter and the spirit of the United Nations only when it is in accordance with what they consider at that particular moment to be their national interests. As yet there is no true United Nations spirit in the governments of the member-states.

THE delegates to the General Assembly cannot—and must not—fail to observe that the whole magnificent enthusiasm for the Allied cause which was so wide-spread during the war has almost completely disappeared, and has left an extremely dangerous vacuum in the political orientation of mankind. The number of people who believe that the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms and the principles of the United Nations were more than war-time propaganda, is constantly dwindling. Instead of the wave of enthusiasm which brought more than three-quarters of humanity under the Allied flags during the war, there is now resignation, a deep anxiety and lack of hope almost everywhere. The great dream of a free world has largely vanished since the close of the war, and no one can foresee what sort of ideologies the disappointed people may embrace.

The fifty-one Foreign Ministers who will gather at Flushing Meadow on October 23rd cannot—and must not—fail to realize that, by and large, the overwhelming majority of humanity is disappointed in the political leadership of the world of today. There is a wide-spread feeling that mostly mediocre governments are running the affairs of the world, and that they are not up to the requirements of modern statesmanship in the atomic age. Few indeed are the figures in the ranks of the General Assembly who have world stature in the true sense of the term, whose influence extends beyond the boundariesof their own country, or who command the loyalty of peoples other than their own. From this point of view, the world is worse off than it was in the 'twenties, when the names of Woodrow Wilson, Leon Bourgeois, Aristide Briand, Lord Robert Cecil, Arthur Henderson and others commanded almost universal esteem.

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And yet it must be recognized that there is in the personnel of the various governments material for great international statesmanship; that by and large the social and political orientation of the world is more progressive now than it was in the 'twenties. According to an overall summary which the Editors of *FREE WORLD* have made, about 53 per cent of the United Nations' governments are relatively progressive.

The reason why public opinion has so suddenly lost confidence in international political leadership is the fact that no new ideas have come up; that each ideology has clung severely to its traditional concepts; and that every one has shied away from the only platform that could possibly become the common denominator of all the United Nations' governments—namely internationalism.

IT is against this background of general resignation that the intense political drama of the last few weeks must be viewed. One single speech—the one made by Henry A. Wallace in New York—literally shook the political scene of the world. The reason why the Wallace speech had such deep repercussions all over the world is not because of its consequences on the structure of the American administration. Not even the problem of whether a "be soft with Russia" policy is preferable to one of "get tough" was really the decisive reason for the effects of that speech.

The main reason for the wide repercussions of the Wallace speech was the fact that, coming at a moment when international anxiety was at its height and when the Peace Conference was bogged down in endless small territorial conflicts—reminiscent of the worst features of past diplomacy—the speech invited a general reconsideration of international policies not only of the United States but, indirectly, of all the United Nations' governments. Whatever criticisms were made of Mr. Wallace's speech—such as that concerning his remarks about the Eastern European sphere—the over-all effect was a breath of fresh air in the stagnant atmosphere of world diplomacy.

It is the very state of world affairs that has given the Wallace speech its gigantic momentum, and its effects will therefore last as long as the world continues in this state.

ONCE the ball of discussion started rolling, members of governments and private citizens alike began to draw up a balance sheet of what had been happening to date, and examined ways and means of halting the disastrous course of international affairs. This was undoubtedly the reason for Joseph Stalin's most outspoken statement on world affairs in a long time. In his answers to the British journalist, Alexander Werth, Mr. Stalin asserted his belief in the possibility of the coexistence of the two great systems—that of the Western world and of the Soviets.

Whatever interpretation one may want to give to this assertion, the outstanding fact remains that it cannot fail to have an arresting effect on the war hysteria in both opposing camps. It is logically quite evident that, following Stalin's statement, the Soviet citizen will realize that the Western world is after all not as bad as it has often been painted, and the Soviet people will undoubtedly understand that rigidity is not what Stalin wants most in the behavior of his representatives.

The world wide discussion which ensued had immediate reprecussions upon the very delicate relationship between Soviet Russia and Great Britain. As is well known, the tension between the Soviet Government and the British Labor Government has seemed even greater than that between the Soviet and non-Socialist governments. Britain has often been considered in Soviet circles as the spearhead of anti-Soviet policies, and it may not be by accident that Stalin chose to speak to the world through the intermediary of a liberal British journalist. Both Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Eden, the former Foreign Secretary, took the hint and immediately made most encouraging statements on the possibilities of international understanding.

And thus, for the first time since the death of Roosevelt, there is a new ray of hope in international affairs. Whether that ray will be strong enough to penetrate the overcast of suspicion and hostility that has been progressively gathering over the world is not certain. But what is certain is that there is now something with which to work.

HERE is where the historic responsibility of the delegates to the General Assembly of the United Nations lies. They must take up the thread of international cooperation where it was left at the end of the war, inject real life and restore the confidence of world public opinion in the United Nations.

The delegates to the Assembly must know that in these last few months many sincere be-

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lievers in international organization have despaired of the new institution, have compared it unfavorably to the old League of Nations, and have come to the conclusion that only world government can solve the problems of humanity. These sincere internationalists, who may be over-zealous in their efforts, can and must be won back to the United Nations Organization—and they will be if this Assembly gives them the assurance that it really means business.

ASIDE from its technical agenda, the Assembly has four tremendous tasks, which are of vital importance to all mankind:

1. The development and effective coordination of the inter-governmental agencies;
2. The strengthening of the Secretariat;
3. The establishment of the Trusteeship Council;
4. The enactment of a general recommendation to the member-governments for implementation of United Nations' principles.

With regard to the first task, there is a considerable number of international agencies which have already begun to function, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Labor Office, and others. But there is serious danger that unless the General Assembly brings these various agencies into the closest working relationship with the United Nations itself, there will be much over-lapping, inefficiency and dangerous competition. It is indispensable that the General Assembly assist the Economic and Social Council in becoming the central coordinating body of all these various international agencies, that steps be taken toward establishing a single world budget and a single over-all policy for all international activities.

The very future of the Organization hinges on the ability of the Assembly to understand how much the coordination between the various agencies will determine the effectiveness of world cooperation. Sound international economics, progress in educational and human rights—everything hinges on that central coordination. If the Assembly takes the necessary steps to secure the greatest participation of public opinion in these activities, then the moral credit of the Organization will grow.

WITH regard to the second task, it must be frankly stated that the Secretariat has not as yet achieved the international prestige which it deserves, and which is indispensable to the fulfillment of its functions. It would be most helpful if the Assembly would reassert the fact that the Secretariat is entrusted with the execution of the decisions of all organs of the UN, and thus must receive from all member-states much more assistance than it has obtained so far.

Concerning the third task. It is because the Trusteeship Council has not yet been created, that the colonial world is still in the exclusive hands of the major colonial powers, and that a large portion of humanity is still uncertain of its fate—a situation which greatly weakens confidence in the Organization as a whole.

THE fourth task touches upon the present general political situation which, as already stated, is one of distrust and anxiety. The General Assembly is the only organ which has the necessary authority today to reaffirm to a bewildered humanity the basic human values of the new world which the members of the United Nations have pledged themselves to create. From its deliberations must come a general recommendation to all governments to adapt their national policies to the pledges they underwrote when they signed and ratified the Charter of the UN.

There are so many violations of human rights, there is so much injustice still going on in the world, that it would be almost impossible for the General Assembly to enumerate in a single recommendation all the crimes against civilization still taking place today. What the Assembly can do is to make one over-all recommendation, inviting all the member-governments to adapt their national policies and, if necessary, their constitutions, to the Charter, the only world constitution we have today. We have no doubt that such a recommendation by the Assembly would be taken up for discussion by millions of citizens in their respective countries, by parliaments and legislative assemblies, and that thus a new moral climate would be created in the world.

It is imperative that we get away as quickly as possible from the shocking discussions of the recent past regarding ten miles of territory—which seem so grotesque in the atomic age—and that we proceed to the unification of the world.

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HARVEST

A Prose Poem

by LOUDIE BAILHÉ CLAAR

AND autumn falls again across the land. Hours, and time of regret, and pain of old beginnings. This is where we came in and here we are again.

There have been other Octobers, other Junes. Snows, tears, forgettings, memories ploughed under, apples, sun, and round-faced days. October. This one's coming in in stunning silence, beau'd by knee-breeches, trembling in fear.

There have been others. Children, suddenly frightened of their rooms, slept on sofas within conscience-sound of teakettles. And the silence of the wireless was turned up loud. But 16-year-old men, and 60, fought the fires. And so another winter passed. Gave way to other Junes. Here and there honeysuckle and the heavy air and drunken pulses naked beneath a bush. But the suburb of Neuilly roars to motorcycles. And in the wood a soldier cries. His belt and hands still clasp the grenades and his sobbing rips into the daylight—loud and awful and unashamed.

And in Margate, Ramsgate, Dover, Folkestone, Hastings, and Hove, they read of Kuchler's army and of Reichenau's. And they face a German coastline (as long as Maine to Florida). On their highways—concrete pillars, ingenious and pathetic. Hayrakes on roads, sewer pipes and tubs of dirt strewn straight across the fields. And again the bulldog voice: We shall not flag or fail.

So then the new and more and other autumns. And with them operations with the strange new names. Overlord. Sledgehammer. Round-up. Torch was assault in Africa. And there was Avalanche, Husky, Grapeshot.

Visions of misery, fantastic madness, mania, and hell.
Did we bear this and now go deaf to agony and crying?

And jeeps were shipped. 28,356 in two years. 218,888 trucks. And reverse lend-lease was found to work, too. 1,835,000,000 pounds of foodstuffs supplied to Americans by Australians. From India—524,000,000 pounds. Requirements in men were estimated then at 8,248,000. But the armies before Stalingrad saved us that and we were able to reduce (says General Marshall) our ceiling to 7,700,000.

Did we do this and cannot keep a friend?

In one month, destroyed in western Europe more than 900 locomotives, 16,000 freight cars. From August 1942 to V.E. Day, dropped 1,550,000 tons of bombs. Put across the Channel 4,000 ships, 8,000 planes, black-faced paratroopers, gliders, jeeps, guns, radar-rangefinders, dynamite, engineers, trucks, tanks, bulldozers, caissons, pierheads, pontoon roadways, and 150,000 men. In split-second timing. Created insecticides and repellents, plasma, and penicillin, split the atom, gave 13,300,000 pints of blood.

Did we do this and cannot feed a child?

We, the men of memory. With 13 planes left at Hickam Field. Who invaded an iron and steel impregnable wall and took our harbors with us.

And cannot hear a cry, and cannot keep a friend, and cannot feed a child.

So autumn falls again across the land.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL

by THE RT. HON. SIR ALEXANDER CADOGAN

The author of this article, formerly British Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is presently the Representative of the United Kingdom on the UN Security Council.

This is the first of a series of articles by delegates to the Security Council and the General Assembly which FREE WORLD will present in consecutive issues.

"SHOULD the Security Council take a rest?" Somebody was heard to remark after a recent exhausting session at Lake Success.

I cannot believe that the question was prompted by solicitude for the delegates' health. It was the result rather of a feeling of frustration induced by the recent debates of the Council. They seem to have accomplished so very little. In fact, to many people they appear only to have underlined and increased the differences between the Great Powers. Whatever has been under discussion—Iran, Greece, Spain, overseas troops, even rules of procedure—the same distressing splits have reappeared. It is not surprising that people should be asking anxiously what can be done to remedy this situation. To suggest a cooling-off period may look like a counsel of despair, but there is no denying the need for reviewing dispassionately the Council's recent proceedings and trying to find a way to give them a new direction and a fresh impulse.

I think I can say that not one of the eleven delegates at the Council table is satisfied with the progress of the Council to date. Clearly, public opinion is not satisfied either.

But equally I believe I can say that not one of my colleagues despairs of the Security Council. And I trust that the public—and the press—will not despair either. An upsurge of cynicism and pessimism can only make our tasks at the Council table harder.

It is much too soon to pass conclusive judgments on either the Security Council or the United Nations as a whole. Yet enough has happened since the organization became a working reality in London in January 1946 to make possible some reflections. I would like to mention a few points arising from our experiences which might be borne in mind in discussing the Security Council and its chances of future success.

MY first point is this: Think what the situation might be today if there were no Security Council, no United Nations. A flare-up at the Council is disconcerting and often immediately unprofitable, but the smoldering fire of a hidden grievance or suspicion, real or unreal, may in the long run be more dangerous.

No one can say definitely, of course, what might have happened by now if the Security Council had not been in existence. But many well-informed observers believe that, for example, the situation in Iran might be much blacker. The Security Council debates on Iran, even if they produced no clear-cut decisions, certainly turned the spot-light of world opinion on these troubled areas in the Near and Middle East. That in itself may have had a salutary restraining effect.

Others, of course, may say that if the Security Council had not been in existence to deal with the Syrian and Lebanese complaints, British and French troops might still be in the Levant. While we in Britain made clear both before and during the Council debates, our desire to get out of these areas, I would not deny that the debates played a useful part in crystallizing British and French plans.

(It has to be remembered that the Council's decision on this matter, welcoming the British and French declarations of their intention to evacuate the Levant, was vetoed by the Soviet Delegate. Both Britain and France voluntarily declared their intention nevertheless to act in line with the Council's manifest desire—thus suggesting the usefulness of the mere existence of the Council even when it is prevented by

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the veto from reaching positive mandatory decisions.)

Or consider the recent United States–Yugoslav dispute over the shooting down of U. S. planes. An ultimatum in the past has normally ended in threats of reprisals or armed action. But the United States protest on this occasion ended with the threat of *bringing the matter to the Security Council.* No one would deny that this is an advance on earlier procedure.

MY next consideration is this: Remember that the Security Council up till now has been operating in circumstances of special difficulty. In the first place it was compelled to plunge into vexed political disputes within a few days of its creation–long before it had developed its rules of procedure. (Imagine Congress trying to function in similar circumstances!) To have ignored the urgent appeal of a small country, Iran, would have been a serious confession of weakness. But the acceptance of the responsibility imposed, in the circumstances, a heavy strain upon the young Council. Moreover, this case was followed by others, each of which, in its own way, increased the Council's difficulties.

Another embarrassing circumstance has been the delay in concluding Peace Treaties. Although the United Nations was originally designed to keep the peace once it had been made, the Council has been forced by these circumstances into "premature operations," trying to maintain a peace not yet made.

Small wonder then that, with all these handicaps, the Council has made such halting progress. One can perhaps take heart from the thought that if it survives the abnormal circumstances of its early days it can be expected to act in the future with increasing confidence.

NOW in view of these handicaps, it might have been well if the Security Council in this initial stage had not been called on to bear more strain than was absolutely necessary. Clearly, it had to respond to the appeal of small countries. For this reason I think it was bound to hear the cases of both Iran and the Levant countries. But in most of the other cases with which it has since wrestled I doubt whether the complainants did the Council a service by omitting attempts at direct settlement and by confronting the Council with their problems without any previous warning or consultation with those directly concerned. The result has been a series of unprofitable debates which, at least temporarily, have reduced the Council's prestige in the eyes of the world.

It is significant that neither Britain, America nor any of the Western democracies have placed a single item on the Council's agenda so far. That situation may have changed by the time this article appears, but there is no doubt that the democracies have felt it unwise to over-burden the Council in its infancy. (Certainly no one could say that the democracies could not have found possible causes of complaint if they had desired.) On the other hand, the Soviet Union and its allies have brought five cases before the Council.

VARIOUS delegates have felt compelled to ask why diplomatic negotiations or other forms of consultation were being shunned and these issues aired so noisily in the Council, and I cannot believe that this procedure has been in the best interests of the Council at this early stage. For it has meant that before the cement of the new chamber of peace has hardened, the walls are being shaken by the severest type of pressure, i.e., by *charges brought by one Great Power against other Great Powers.*

It has seemed strange that such pressure should come from the Soviet side, for the Soviet representatives have ever since Dumbarton Oaks been the staunchest champions of Great Power unanimity as the key to the success of the United Nations.

Mr. Lie has also more than once emphasized the importance of Great Power unanimity.

I would agree that at this point in the world's history unanimity amongst the Great Powers is the key to peace. I would only add that a willingness to compromise will facilitate such unanimity and that when any four of the Great Powers are in step, the primary responsibility for achieving unanimity lies not with them, but with the fifth member who is out of step.

My own conviction is that if the members of the United Nations abide by the pledges outlined in Article 2 of the Charter (to "settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such manner that international peace and security and justice, are not endangered"), and act in conformity with Article 33 ("first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice"), then the Council could function much more effectively.

I HAVE always felt that one fundamental difficulty arises from the provisions of the Charter. On the one hand, most of the constructive functions of the Organization have been

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taken away from the Security Council and given to special bodies such as the Economic and Social Council. Yet at the same time, the Security Council has to be in permanent session, and has adopted a rule whereby it meets once every fourteen days. The difficulties inherent in this combination of circumstances are readily apparent.

The provision that the Security Council shall "be able to function continuously" has worked out differently from what its advocates claimed. They argued that this would enable it to nip troublesome situations at a pre-crisis stage. Instead, it has tended only to yield new illustrations of the old proverb about the mischief that idle hands find to do.

I sometimes think that some of our intellectuals, who have been laboring on paper plans for world government, might more profitably spend their time thinking out what constructive tasks the Security Council could be performing under the Charter, tasks in the fulfillment of which the Great Powers would stand a reasonable chance of remaining united. Our most urgent need today is for some uniting notions for the United Nations.

I have not engaged in any discussion of the veto in this article. I have avoided it deliberately, not only because I see little practical hope of any radical change in the veto provisions in the near future, but also because I think that the evils of the veto have been overdramatized. It is not the absence of the veto but the presence of the will-to-cooperate that will guarantee the United Nations' success. Without the will-to-cooperate, even the removal of the veto would not make the Charter work. With the will-to-cooperate, I believe the charter can work even as it is. And growing confidence in the working power of the Organization is, I suggest, the essential pre-condition to any later agreement regarding the relaxation of the veto power.

WITHIN the existing charter, I would therefore suggest the following guides to a more effective role for the Security Council:

1. All countries should honestly seek agreement by the processes of consultation and mediation (Article 33) before calling in the Security Council.

2. The veto should be used sparingly. This was the clear expectation of most of the delegates at Dumbarton Oaks, San Francisco and Yalta. It was never meant that it should be used several times in one afternoon to block decisions favored by the overwhelming majority of the Council—still less when the issues involved no security interest of the vetoing power. The indiscriminate use of the veto can only produce a sense of frustration in the Council. It inevitably raises unpleasant questions as to whether the all-important will-to-cooperate is present amongst all the members. Incidentally, it also tends to make other countries turn with more hope toward the Assembly, a result which the devotees of the veto could scarcely intend.

(UN Photo)

Sir Alexander Cadogan

3. We must hasten the day when all the world knows that adequate military and economic plans have been worked out to back up and make effective any decisions taken by the Council.

4. We must look constantly for constructive endeavors on which the Council can usefully embark.

5. The Council must be protected from use as a propaganda platform. It may be that in this connection it should give consideration—as the Netherlands Delegate recently suggested—to refining the procedures by which cases are

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admitted to its agenda. The way to peace is not made easier by new versions of the old wars of nerves, nor by open accusations openly—and often unexpectedly—made in the Security Council.

In his opening speech before the General Assembly in January, Mr. Gromyko expressed "the hope that the activities of the Security Council will, from the very beginning, be fruitful and effective, and will be aimed at the realization of the main objectives and tasks of the organization." He also underlined the vital importance of building "a sound and creative atmosphere capable of securing the attainment of positive results."

Mr. Gromyko was right. A new moral climate is essential to the effectiveness of the Security Council and the United Nations. Every one of us who professes a desire for peace should be judged not only by his words but by the contribution of his actions to the creation of a sound and creative atmosphere in which even the most delicate problems can be tackled and resolved.

TO sum up: The prime object of the Security Council, in assuring the maintenance of peace, is to provide machinery for the peaceful and just settlement of disputes and for the remedy of dangerous situations. This can only be attained by a corporate desire on the part of the United Nations to work together for the elimination of friction and difficulties. To that end it is incumbent on them, and on the Great Powers in particular, to try to find solutions by friendly consultation. Only if that proves impossible should appeal be made to the Security Council, and then that appeal should be made in the sincere hope that collective and impartial wisdom may find a way of reconciling honestly held divergences of view.

And to help the Security Council to discharge its work, it would be of the greatest benefit if some constructive work could be found for it to do. Participation in the achievement of useful and beneficial results would draw the Council members together and develop in them that corporate sense that would fit the Council best to discharge its all-important function.

A PEOPLES' PEACE

by WILLARD S. GIVENS

The role of peoples' education, and the international organization of peoples' educators by the Executive Secretary, National Education Association.

THE Pax Romana was enforced by the sword of the Caesars.

The Holy Alliance sought an end to the age-old conflicts of Europe through a gentleman's agreement of monarchs.

The League of Nations attempted to maintain peace through a covenant of governments.

The United Nations seeks peace not only through cooperation of governments but also through the mutual understanding and goodwill of peoples themselves. This is a new step in the peacemaking efforts of history. It recognizes that wars are fought by men, and that men can prevent them. The success of popular participation in the prevention of war depends largely upon the intelligence and attitude—the mind and spirit—of the common man around the world. These human qualities are closely related to education.

It was for this reason that educators had a place at the peace table in San Francisco. As a result of their recommendations the conference of the United Nations provided for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization—UNESCO—as the agency through which international understanding and goodwill may be encouraged and developed among the peoples of the world. The preamble to the Charter of UNESCO expresses the purpose of this agency in the significant statement attributed to Clement Attlee, Prime Minister of Great Britain: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed."

The action initated at the San Francisco conference was quite in contrast to that taken by those who wrote the covenant of the League of Nations. Educators at that time urged the establishment of some international office through which the peoples of the world might

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find common interests in the conquest of ignorance and in sharing with each other the achievements of science and the arts.

A delegation of women carrying resolutions of the General Education Board, the National Education Association, the National Union of Teachers of England and Wales, and other groups, appeared before the committee drafting the Covenant of the League at the Hotel Crillon in Paris, April 1919, to make such a proposal. The delegation was granted a thirty-minute "audience". The members of the committee listened politely. They thanked the delegation for calling the matter to their attention. The Committee then proceeded in its minutely detailed allocation of guns of different calibres to the enemy nations. Their peoples were to take care of themselves. History has already recorded how they did so.

It is true that there are many factors outside men's minds that have a bearing upon peace and conflict. All of them, however, must be evaluated in the minds of men before they become motives for action. It is the hope of those who have asked a role for education in the maintenance of the peace of the world that the quality called intelligence, possessed by man, will in time if not now, enable him to settle his differences by other methods than those used by the beasts of the jungle.

IT was with a profound sense of the responsibility of the educational systems of the nations to contribute toward enduring peace that representatives of organized teachers of twenty-eight countries answered a call of the National Education Association of the United States to the World Conference of the Teaching Profession which met in a fourteen day session at Endicott, New York, last August, and created the World Organization of the Teaching Profession.

The fifty-six delegates to the Conference did not officially represent their governments. Most of the delegates were officers of nation-wide teacher organizations by which they were commissioned to join their colleagues in (1), drafting a constitution for a world-wide organization, (2) outlining a program for the teaching of international understanding, (3) planning aid for schools in areas devastated by the war, and (4) devising methods of cooperating constructively with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

THE Conference certainly marked no trend toward the merging or blending of the world cultures. On the contrary, it was emphasized that international understanding "does not involve the sacrifice of national culture or national citizenship, or the subordination of one to another. It requires thorough study of world problems, including the knowledge of economic forces and historical backgrounds."

The Conference declaration on teaching international understanding begins with a statement of principles which teachers should strive to implement in all areas of human relationship. These principles indicate the belief of educators everywhere in the broad social importance of education:

(1) The fundament needs of mankind for food, clothing, shelter, health, recreation and security should be satisfied.

(2) Every human being should enjoy, without any discrimination whatsoever, equal opportunity to develop physically, intellectually, and socially.

(3) The pursuit of truth and the expression of opinion should be unrestricted, except when they interfere with the rights of others.

(4) Respect for human life and for the religious convictions of other peoples should be fostered.

(5) No nation should impose its culture upon any other nation, since no people possesses superiority by reason of divine gift, biological factors, or historical claims.

(6) The advances of science have now made all peoples neighbors, mutually interdependent and, therefore, morally responsible for each other's well-being.

(7) The security of nations, their right to self-government, their cultural enrichment, and their economic prosperity can be realized only through international cooperation in an organization powerful enough to maintain peace and to facilitate world-wide economic cooperation.

The activation of these principles would not be achieved, according to the opinion of the delegates, in a single study devoted to international relations, though the addition of such a subject to the curricula of all schools was commended.

Naturally, the place of history was considered highly important in this general all-curriculum study of international relations. It is in this subject that nations often parade their conquests and achievements at the expense of others. It was recommended that history texts show the interdependence of peoples. That they give less attention to wars and petty political struggles. That they emphasize the development

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of civilization throughout the world as an age-long enterprise toward which all nations have contributed. That through history books, students should become familiar with the life and work of men and women of all nations. That they should learn in their history classes to understand and appreciate the spiritual and cultural heritage of all peoples and be awakened to a sense of their own individual responsibility for the welfare of mankind.

MUCH thought at the Conference was given to modern languages. The Conference itself, where fifteen languages were spoken, well illustrated the handicap of exchanging ideas with others who do not understand the words by which they are conveyed. This was true in spite of the facts that many of the delegates spoke English, and that there were among them capable interpreters.

It was the sentiment of the Conference that international understanding could vastly be advanced if one language were understood throughout the world. Consideration was given both to artificial language and to living language as a universal tongue. In the opinion of the Conference, a living language is preferable.

The Conference made provision for a commission composed of teachers "with scientific linguistic training and practical experience in teaching," and of sociologists and psychologists to: (a) compare and evaluate the various artificial languages in existence; (b) to set forth what claims to internationality various living languages have; (c) and to express its views as to the advisability of adopting an artificial language as a first or secondary international language. The commission was charged with the duty of clarifying such conceptions as "Basic English". The appointment of such a commission will be one of the first duties of the World Organization of the Teaching Profession.

THE question of language as a medium of exchanging ideas among the nations raises the question of literacy itself. It was remarked at the Conference that, since half of the two billion inhabitants of the world could not read or write in *any* language, a great deal of work for educators precedes the adoption of one universal language. It will be necessary first to give peoples of many of the countries of the world full use of their native tongue. Since the elimination of illiteracy is one of the first objectives announced by the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO, the Conference outlined plans for cooperating with that official agency.

The Conference would extend the study of art, music and literature of all nations. "Music and art are international in appeal" says the report of the Conference. "In large measure, this is also true of literature. Children should not only become acquainted with artistic reproductions, but they should also be led to understand the cultural environments and attitudes of mind of the creative artists whose work they study."

THE most promising study proposed by the Organization, however, is the analysis and improvement of textbooks toward the elimination of nationalistic propaganda designed to promote aggressive nationalism. In this study, the Organization will cooperate with UNESCO in four concrete proposals set forth by that agency in a recent memorandum on the subject, as follows:

(*1*) *Analysis and revision of school textbooks, which so far have been limited in fact to history manuals, should be extended to all subject matters, and more particularly to geography, civics, foreign languages and literature.*

(2) *National cooperating bodies should be entrusted with the task of "spotting" and reporting bad or good practices, and specialists in the various subject matters and should be put in charge of the actual revision. Pedagogical and psychological problems such as the effects of textbooks on the minds of children should be left to educators and educational psychologists.*

(*3*) *The Education Section will endeavour to secure the active cooperation of governments or of representative educational agencies and have them assume their full share of responsibility by adopting protective as well as constructive measures.*

(*4*) *UNESCO should act as the coordinating centre for all undertakings and provide general or technical information to all concerned.*

While UNESCO proposes principally the elimination of undesirable material from textbooks, the Conference urged teachers and teachers' associations to "go beyond the negative action provided for in the UNESCO proposals by taking constructive steps to have included in the text books used in the schools of their respective countries, content which supports positively the ideals of world understanding."

The value of personal contacts in the teaching of world understanding were recognized by the

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Conference in proposals to cooperate with UNESCO in programs of teacher travel and exchange. A central office of documentation and exchange of teaching materials was recommended by the Conference. Studies were proposed of ways and means to strengthen the international roles of universities, and of the feasibility and desirability of establishing an international university. It was proposed that teachers' organizations endeavor to enlist the press, the radio and the instruments of visual education as allies in the promotion of world goodwill.

IN order to promote close and active cooperation with UNESCO, the Conference recommended that representatives of the teaching profession should serve on its delegations and committees. It requested UNESCO to give immediate consideration to a world-wide program "to lift the status of the teachers of the world, and to promote their intellectual, material, social and civic interests and rights."

In order to give the people a larger voice in determining the character of education in their respective countries, the Conference asked that all laws relating to education be enacted by the freely elected representatives of the people and that those who administer education should be subject to public control. Other resolutions of the Conference decried race discrimination among teachers, and instruction "designed directly or indirectly to promote military aggression."

INVITATIONS to the World Conference at Endicott were issued by the National Education Association to all members of the United Nations and to a few non-members unanimously approved by those United Nations members who accepted the invitation. The non-members of the United Nations present at the Conference were Sweden, Eire and Switzerland (Sweden has since been admitted to membership in the UN). Russia, France and Belgium, although invited, were among those nations which were not represented at the Conference.

Observers and advisers at the Conference included representatives of six international teachers organizations and federations, of the Pan American Union, UN, UNESCO, the United States Department of State, and the United States Office of Education.

A draft constitution for the World Organization of the Teaching Profession was written at the Conference and is now the provisional organic document for the new organization, to become effective as soon as it is approved by ten or more of the national teacher organizations represented at the Conference. The organization will be officially declared in existence at the first meeting of the Delegate Assembly for which the draft constitution provides. It is expected that the first Assembly will be held in the summer of 1947.

F. L. Schlagle, superintendent of schools, Kansas City, Kansas, National Education Association delegate to the meeting, was chosen Chairman of the Conference and was later elected Chairman of the Preparatory Commission, the membership of which includes Ralph Morley, president of the National Union of Teachers of England and Wales; Henry Lester Smith, Acting Secretary-General of the World Federation of Education Associations; Luis Alvarez Barret, Mexican Teachers Association; and Miss Thyra Andren, Norway Elementary Teachers Association.

William G. Carr, associate secretary of the NEA, who served as Secretary of the Conference, was elected Secretary-General of the Preparatory Commission. The Preparatory Commission will be located in the United States and will be in charge of the transitional arrangements for the new Organization.

Full membership in the World Organization of the Teaching Profession is open to any national organization of the teaching profession whose application is approved by the Executive Committee of the Organization, subject to final endorsement of the Delegate Assembly. Provisions were also made for membership of international organizations of the teaching profession, for individual members, and for affiliated membership of regional, state and local organizations, including learned societies, and for affiliated membership of universities and colleges.

The legislative and policy-making body of the new organization will be a Delegate Assembly constituted from the qualified membership upon a representative basis. Full national members are entitled to one delegate for each 2000 members or major fraction thereof.

For the first time in history, education has a recognized and effective role in the maintenance of peace, in the extension of freedom of learning to all men, and in the advancement of civilization through world-wide cooperation of those whose special responsibility it is to defeat the evil of ignorance and prepare mankind for active, world-wide participation in a peoples' peace.

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THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

by LOUIS DOLIVET

Except for action on the maintenance of international peace and security—which is reserved for the Security Council—the supreme authority within the United Nations is exercised by the General Assembly. The second session of this great popular organ of world expression is scheduled to convene in New York this month. The following is the slightly condensed chapter, "The General Assembly," from a handbook on the new world organization just published: "The United Nations," by Louis Dolivet (Farrar, Straus & Co.)

THE Assembly has all the characteristics of an organization which is intended to function as the intermediary between a system of limited co-operation among national sovereign states and some kind of united world which is in the making. It is clearly the intention of the Charter to make the Assembly the great moral and political platform of the world, but not to let it take direct action.

When the Assembly enters into session its procedure is based on the rules of parliamentarianism. These rules have been developed through the seven hundred years of the fight against tyranny, a fight which began with the Magna Charta and progressed through the American, French, and Russian revolutions and all the other heroic struggles of millions of human beings.

Before an Assembly Convenes

Months before a General Assembly convenes, the chancelleries of the United Nations governments are hard at work. In addition to settling UN matters proper, each session of the Assembly offers a unique opportunity for important meetings and discussions among governments. That is why governments try to send their best representatives as their national delegation to the UN.

Delegates of the UN are ambassadors to the world as a whole, and their letters of accreditation are the same as would be issued to any other ambassador. Their instructions are most carefully drafted, since the delegates will have the responsibility of making vital decisions, both on strategy and on long-term policies, once the Assembly is in session.

The different departments of the UN Secretariat compile complete information on the subjects which are to come before the Assembly. For months beforehand, the delegates and their experts study the information and the various items on the agenda. Then they proceed to study the best ways and means of presenting the specific problems of their respective countries. When a country has requested the inclusion of an item on the agenda, its delegation will be responsible for preparing the necessary documentation.

The former rules of diplomatic procedure and protocol have given way to a more modern approach. The negotiations of power with power is being replaced in the UN framework by collective discussion and decision.

Often non-diplomatic people are irritated at these preliminary confidential negotiations. They would like to see things more in the open at the Assembly. But a certain amount of preparatory work is indispensable; otherwise a session would never come to an end.

As soon as the Assembly enters into session, a fight on procedure begins. This is naturally startling to the lay observer and seems unnecessary and trivial. A conflict on procedure, however, is much more than a simple disagreement as to whether or not a given rule shall be applied in a certain case. A ruling on procedure often determines an important political decision on a specific proposal. The easiest way to dismiss a suggestion one does not wish to take up is to declare it opposed to procedure. That is why the fight over procedure has such a significant place in every UN meeting.

Equality in the Assembly

The General Assembly is composed of all the members of the United Nations. It meets in regular session each year on the first Tuesday after September 2nd. However, any time a majority of the members of the UN—or the Security Council deem it necessary to hold a special session, the Secretary-General will call it within fifteen days.

From a constitutional point of view, all the differences between great and small, rich and poor nations disappear in the Assembly, for each country has only one vote. Each country also has the right to put on the agenda of the General Assembly any item it may consider important, provided it is within the scope of the

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Charter. In fact, the Charter is so broad that practically everything of international interest can be brought before the Assembly. The only items to be excluded are matters of strictly domestic jurisdiction, for example: shall England have a king, the U. S. a president, or Russia a Soviet system. This limitation, however, does not mean that a fascist or any other regime considered dangerous to the world would be tolerated simply under the pretext that its political setup was an internal matter. Should such a regime be established in any part of the world, neighboring or other countries who feel threatened have the right to bring the matter before the General Assembly or the Security Council.

The founders of the United Nations were very careful to establish first of all the principle that the Assembly may discuss and consider any questions falling within the scope of the United Nations Charter. The Assembly was then given specific powers to deal with two categories of problems considered important to the international community as a whole. The first comprises all problems that have to do with peace; the second pertains to the general welfare and friendly relations among all nations.

Co-operation for Peace

Above all, the General Assembly is authorized to consider the principles relating to the co-operation of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. This includes another vitally important problem: The Assembly is expressly authorized by the Charter to deal with the principles governing the regulation of armaments and disarmament.

Any member of the UN or the Security Council as a whole can bring these matters before the Assembly. The only time the General Assembly will refrain from making recommendations on a given dispute or situation is when the Security Council is already dealing with it.

The Secretary-General will inform the Assembly about matters with which the Security Council is dealing. The Assembly will make no recommendations on such matters unless it is specifically requested by the Security Council to do so—or if not, until the Council has ceased working on these matters.

The United Nations is conscious of the fact that the maintenance of peace is a universal problem. It permits even non-members, in the same way as members, to bring any matter related to this field before the Assembly. However, non-members must accept in advance the obligations of peaceful settlement provided for in the Charter.

What happens when any of these matters are brought before the General Assembly? Can it take any specific action?

No. The Assembly is mainly a political body of the UN governments. Its function is to examine carefully every dangerous situation. to find out what is right and what is wrong, and to make recommendations for the correction of the wrong. The Assembly has the right to call the attention of the Security Council to anything that endangers international peace and security, but this is no special privilege, for any state has the same right. If the Assembly were authorized to take action, to make decisions binding upon the member states, this would mean that it would be the congress or parliament of the world. Had the powers of the Assembly been extended that far, one can be sure that not only the U. S. and Russia, but also France and England, and what are considered the "Middle Powers" (e.g., Brazil and Canada) would have asked for a larger representation. For it is self-evident that they could not have agreed that on vital decisions their powers should be no greater than those, for example, of small states like Nicaragua and Saudi Arabia.

The whole problem of a representation based not only on numbers of inhabitants but also on military and economic factors, health, housing, living, and educational standards would have had to be solved before the decisions of the Assembly could become binding.

Co-operation for the Welfare of Mankind

Under the powers pertaining to the promotion of general welfare and of friendly relations among all nations, the Assembly has the right, first of all, to initiate research and studies for the purpose of promoting international co-operation. The Assembly can create, either directly or through the Economic and Social Council or the Secretariat, all kinds of commissions, research and advisory groups, and committees of experts, and entrust them with the task of studying, for example, the living standards or educational problems or human rights in any part of the world. The member nations of the UN will help these groups in the accomplishment of their tasks. Through these studies, the Assembly will soon become the best-informed body in the whole world. No one nation can possibly duplicate the Assembly's staff of experts and their universal sources of information.

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The Assembly can make recommendations on international migrations, on the freedom of the seas and the air, on the exchange of scientific co-operation, information, human rights, social development, better housing, full employment—in short, on anything that affects the possibilities of co-operation. But the powers of the Assembly are not limited to promoting international co-operation. It also has the right to encourage the progressive development of international law and its codification. This activity alone could fill a very dangerous gap which exists today and will contribute greatly to the maintenance of future peace.

At first glance all these powers of the Assembly might not seem of great importance because they cannot result in direct action; but from a political point of view these powers are considerable. A resolution by the Assembly and a recommendation to the member states will, because of its high authority, most certainly result in favorable action by the member nations.

The Assembly can recommend modification of treaties—even the peace treaties resulting from World War II, territorial revisions, and abrogation or conclusion of international agreements.

The Assembly has the power to discuss, to examine, and to consider the international situations, and to make recommendations on behalf of the highest political institution of mankind to which each country has pledged its allegiance. This is in itself an immense political factor. The members of the Assembly are the highest political representatives of the world. They discuss and debate by virtue of a specific mandate which has been entrusted to them by fifty-one governments; the recommendations on which they agree after the fullest debate are therefore morally and politically binding upon the member nations. From a strictly legal point of view, any member nation can reject a recommendation, but if such were the intention of the members they would not have created the Assembly. Undoubtedly it will be very difficult for any country, both from an external and a domestic point of view, to refuse to ratify a recommendation that has been adopted by the General Assembly. Therefore, it can be logically assumed that the rejection of a recommendation of the Assembly will be the exception, not the rule.

Elections by the Assembly

The central position of the Assembly in the whole structure of the UN is seen even more clearly when it comes to the elections for the various councils, and when the supervision of their activities and financial matters is considered. The most important election in which the members of the Assembly participate is the one for the six non-permanent members of the Security Council. These six members are important as the guardians of world peace; they constitute the real check on the powers of the Big Five, the permanent members of the Security Council. At least two of the six powers elected by the Assembly must agree with the Big Five before any action can be taken. Thus, the Middle and Small Powers of the UN have a guarantee that their voice will be heard by the Big Powers, because representatives of the General Assembly are present in the Security Council. When the Assembly elects the non-permanent members, it must, in accordance with the Charter, take into consideration the contributions which the various candidates have already made to the maintenance of peace and to the fulfillment of the other fundamental aims of the organization.

Though the Assembly is limited in security matters because it cannot remove any of the Big Five from permanent membership in the Security Council, it has unlimited powers to elect members to the Economic and Social Council. The General Assembly elects all eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council for a term of three years. It is also the Assembly that elects a certain number of members for a period of three years to the Trusteeship Council.

Besides these direct elections, the Assembly appoints two kinds of high international officials, either in co-operation with the Security Council or on its recommendation. The fifteen judges of the International Court of Justice are elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council. The Secretary-General of the Organization, on the other hand, is appointed by the Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council.

Reports of the UN Organs to the Assembly

Everything done by an organ of the UN is reported at the regular annual sessions of the Assembly. The Security Council must present a full report to the General Assembly indicating all the measures which that body has taken or has decided to take for the maintenance of peace and security. While the Assembly has no power to change a decision of the Security Council, it nevertheless has the right of fullest discussion and criticism, and can make recommendations, for or against, either to the

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Security Council or to the member states.

The Assembly has the final say on the reports submitted to it by the Economic and Social Council and by the Secretary General on the work of the United Nations. It also receives annual and special reports by the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and all other subsidiary organs which it may have established. In the near future, after the UN has signed definite agreements with specialized agencies such as the World Bank, the International Fund, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and others, it will also receive reports from them and thus considerably enlarge its field of action.

Financial Powers

Finally, the Assembly has the sole power to approve the budget of the United Nations and to establish the amount to be paid by each member into the general budget. The General Assembly approves not only the budget of the United Nations, but also all other financial and budgetary arrangements with the specialized agencies. These financial powers will increasingly enhance the role of the Assembly within the organization.

The UN has established a working fund of $25,000,000. All member nations are to make advances toward it, which are deductible from the contributions to the regular budget. The scale of payments takes into account the financial situation of the various countries. But no matter what the size of the contribution, the UN organizational machinery does not cost any country as much for a whole year as does a single day of war.

Voting Procedure

The voting procedure in the Assembly is based on the principle that decisions on important questions must be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. The Charter outlines which questions must automatically be considered as important. They are:

1. Recommendations with respect to international peace and security
2. Election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council
3. Election of members of the Economic and Social Council
4. Election of members of the Trusteeship Council
5. Admission of new members to the UN
6. Suspension of the rights and privileges of the members
7. Questions relating to the operation of the Trusteeship system
8. Budgetary matters.

On all other questions an absolute majority of the members present and voting is sufficient; but the Assembly has the right to designate by a simple majority vote additional categories of questions which will have to be decided by a two-thirds majority.

Once a proposal has been submitted it is sent for thorough examination to the commission into whose field of competence it falls. After that examination it goes back to the Assembly. The usual procedure calls for two speakers pro and two speakers con, in case of controversy.

When it comes to voting in the Assembly, any kind of pressure a larger power may exercise on a smaller power disappears. In the same way the voter in a free election, despite threats or demands of political groups, can approach the ballot box and know that he is absolutely free. It is in the vote that the democratic character of the UN and the equality of all nations before the law appears clearest.

Nothing in the Charter or in the procedure says anything about the division of the Assembly into two blocs, and yet no objective student of the Assembly, or onlooker at the San Francisco and the London meetings can deny that such a division exists. On almost all controversial issues these blocs confront each other, with six to nine votes on the side of Russia, about thirty on the side of the Western Powers and about fifteen undecided. Of course, this division into blocs is nobody's fault, neither the Assembly's nor the delegates'. It only reflects certain realities of our world. These realities cannot be eliminated by rules; they can only be changed through gradual improvement in the international political situation and through the growth of mutual confidence among the member nations.

Agenda and Rules

In order to cover its vast agenda each year, the Assembly needs a very precise technical structure. Above all, it needs a detailed set of rules which provide for maximum efficiency and speed. It has these rules and this is, in brief, how the General Assembly functions:

First of all, the Secretary-General draws up the provisional agenda.

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Before the Assembly convenes, the provisional agenda must be communicated to all the member states at least sixty days before the opening of the session; this gives them an opportunity for careful study. Up to twenty-five days before the opening of each session, any member has the right to ask for the inclusion of additional items on the agenda. One week before the Assembly opens, the credentials of the representatives, duly signed either by the Head of State or the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the names of the members of the various delegations must have been submitted to the Secretary-General.

At the beginning of each session the Assembly elects a Credentials Committee which deliberates whether or not all the representatives are duly accredited, and immediately reports to the Assembly.

The first meeting is presided over by the President of the previous session. If the former President of the Assembly is no longer chairman of the delegation of his country, then the current chairman of that delegation acts as President until a new one has been elected by the current Assembly. In addition to electing a President, the Assembly also appoints seven Vice-presidents.

The President directs the discussion, sees that the rules are observed, accords the right to speak, puts questions, and announces decisions. He rules on points of order and, within the framework of the rules of the Assembly, has complete control over the proceedings. In order to ensure the utmost impartiality, the rules provide that the President of the Assembly may not vote as a delegate of his own country.

The Main Committees of the Assembly

The rules provide for the appointment of six main committees. These must deal with the vast agenda before each regular session of the General Assembly. The committees are:

1. Political and Security Committee (whose competence includes the regulation of armaments)
2. Economic and Financial Committee
3. Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Committee
4. Trusteeship Committee
5. Administrative and Budgetary Committee
6. Legal Committee.

The democratic concept in the Assembly is again illustrated by the fact that each delegation is represented on every one of these committees. Thus, a country that is not a member of the Security, Economic and Social, or Trusteeship Councils will still have a chance to discuss the vital activities of these Councils not only in the General Assembly but also, in a much more detailed form, before the specialized committees.

The committees may be compared to the standing committees of the American Congress and similar committees in other parliaments. Their importance will grow as the UN comes to grips with its various activities. Each committee elects its own chairman, vice-chairman, and recorder. These officers shall represent the largest possible number of geographical areas; besides, they are selected for their competence and experience. Undoubtedly these provisions will guarantee a high standard of efficiency; each country will try to send its best representatives so that it can compete with the best representatives of all other countries.

The committees have the function of examining anything referred to them by the General Assembly, and it is they who prepare draft recommendations and resolutions which are then submitted to a full meeting.

Outside of these main committees, there are two procedural committees: one is the Credentials Committee previously mentioned; the other is the General Committee.

The General Committee is composed of the President, the seven Vice-Presidents, and the Chairmen of the six main committees. It is responsible for the consideration of the provisional agenda; these include the emergency items submitted by the different states which were not received during the fifteen-day period provided for this purpose. The General Committee also assists the President in the general conduct of the work of the Assembly.

Of course, the Assembly is free to appoint other committees which may be required to take care of the various tasks assigned to it in the Charter.

Summary

The Assembly simultaneously fulfills four functions, each relating to different fields. In matters of peace and security, the Assembly functions as a town meeting of the world. Through its right to make recommendations to all the United Nations, it serves as a supreme source of international initiative. Through its right to elect most of the major organs of the UN, it acts as the highest authority within the organization. Finally, through its powers over the budget, it holds the purse strings of the United Nations.

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(Photo French Press and Info. Serv.)

Edouard Herriot, former Premier of France, and President of the Chamber of Deputies. For thirty-eight years, Mayor of Lyons. Imprisoned during the war by the Vichy government and by the Germans.

HUMAN GUINEA PIGS

German Contempt for the Human Personality

by EDOUARD HERRIOT

That which the Germans have hoped for, that which the discredited leadership of the Third Reich expected, looms as an ominous possibility: A post-war struggle between Russia and the West for the allegiance and the alliance of Germany, from which a Fourth Reich would emerge, united and powerful. The cloud of this possibility lends emphasis to this article, written by one of the great statesmen and humanitarians of our time.

A COMPARATIVELY brief study, *Human Guinea Pigs,* was recently published simultaneously in Geneva and Paris. The proceeds of the book will be turned over to the education center for children whose parents were executed or deported by the Germans. This book is bound to stir all its readers greatly. It is the result of an inquiry conducted at the end of May, 1945, by three Swiss physicians, Doctors G. Menkes, R. Hermann and A. Miege at the camps of Dachau and Struthof and at the reception center of Meinau.

We know of many similar accounts. But the reports of deportees who survived, or of their friends, might be considered colored. In this case, however, we are dealing with an inquiry

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conducted uniquely from a scientific point of view, by scientists of a neutral country who rightly consider honesty as their first duty. They made their inquiry on the ground, on the very premises where the victims suffered and died. They have reconstructed the experiments to which these unfortunates were subjected in the name of a so-called science. One is dumbfounded by the results of these impartial observations, even if he himself has been a deportee.

WE are first introduced to the Dachau camp near Munich—erected as early as 1933. The set-up is familiar: electrified barbed wire, watch towers, water-filled ditches, cremating ovens, gas chambers, a morgue, a mound for execution by shooting, patches of clay to drain off the blood of victims, a bordello, cell blocks for prisoners.

First designed for Germans, this camp received up to forty thousand of them, including many Jews. According to the inquirers, a total of more than two hundred thousand prisoners was incarcerated here. It is needless to stress the lack of food (I myself saw in the vicinity of Berlin a miserable French prisoner scratching a field with his finger-nails in the hope of discovering a few forgotten potatoes), and the rigor of the surveillance, generally entrusted to common criminals.

At Struthof-Natzwiler, near Strassbourg, after 1940, one building was used for interrogations and tortures, for executions, death records and cremations. The water for showers was heated by the burning of corpses. There were hooks for mass hangings. There was a cellar for summary executions. In one single night, the night of September 1, 1944, ninety-two women and three hundred men were executed by eight SS men. It is worthy of re-emphasis that these reports, based on authentic documents, are conveyed to us by scientists.

Most horrible of all is the fact that German physicians dared to employ the prisoners for experiments "none of which was undertaken in order to clarify an important scientific problem." Professor Klaus von Schilling gave malarial inoculations to eleven hundred persons of all nationalities, particularly to priests and pastors. Pus drawn from abscesses was used for intravenous injections to Poles; one hundred and fourteen of these unhappy people were thus slaughtered. Men dressed in airplane-pilot overalls were immersed in icy water; others were forced to drink great quantities of salt water; still others were used for rarified air experiments. Typhus was systematically injected. Gypsy women were forcibly subjected to artificial insemination and were sacrificed after a few months of pregnancy. On the other hand, men and children were sterilized. Results of these experiments were sometimes published in professional journals.

The inquiry of the three Swiss physicians is concluded by notes on scientific experiments at Buchenwald (report of Mr. Balachowsky, laboratory chief of the Pasteur Institute in Paris), on methodical extermination (report of Dr. Henri Chrétien, who was detained at Dachau), and on experimentation with human beings (by Mr. Christian Champy, member of the French Academy of Medicine).

ANY commentary is superfluous. To my mind there is a mystery in the contrast between the good-natured character of the individual German and the cruelty of the collective German. "These are two contradictory but coexistent aspects of our character," Professor Forster, who lived in dignified exile in a retreat on the French-Swiss border, used to say. To illustrate his view, he told me the following anecdote which was symbolic, if not factual: "A young man was seated at the bedside of his dying mother. At nightfall, led by a feeling of patriotic duty, he excused himself to attend a meeting. Upon leaving, he turned for the last time toward his mother and said: 'Before dying, do remember to put out the light.' And the mother grew very tender: 'He thinks of everything, the dear child."

This is not a time for hypotheses as to the future. The problem is not whether Germany will be able or want to cure herself of this ferocity. That is a vast problem, and I am inclined to be pessimistic about the solution because of what I saw and heard of her youth.

Let us remain in the domain of facts. I would welcome a global inquiry by the United Nations into atrocities committed by the Germans—an inquiry conducted by scientists of unquestioned repute. There would be many elements missing. Who among us could not cite examples of tortured people? But at least the inquiry would establish for the record that which is truth and that which is the product of imagination.

I cannot comprehend how German physicians could accept the role of systematic executioners. In my own captivity I knew at least one who retained a sense of good-will and of respect

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for humanity, coupled with absolutely correct behavior; my regard for truth compels me to do him justice. . . .

The inquiry which I seek should disclose to what extent the German people knew the horrors committed in their name. Perhaps this inquiry would lead us to establish a distinction between the mentality of the army and that of the SS. It would enable us to determine with precision the guiding rules of Nazi action. On this point one can say at least that in their cult of force, in their contempt for the human personality, they were inspired by Nietzschean ideas which they honored on every possible occasion. The *"Will to Power,* An Attempted Transvaluation of All Values," was their code. Indeed, was it not a copy of this work that Hitler presented to Mussolini to seal their friendship?

Nietzche was bent on the destruction of the moral concept. "There is nothing in life," he wrote, "which is of any value except a degree of power." "Man must have the *courage* of his natural instincts restored to him. . . ." "Social idiosyncracies must be stamped out of existence (guilt, punishment, justice, honesty, freedom, love)." " 'What one *can* do' is the first question, 'what one ought to do' is a secondary consideration." "All moral struggle against vice, luxury, crime and even sickness seems like naïvete—like a superfluous thing." "All actions, no matter what their nature, are basically of identical value." "In itself an act is absolutely devoid of value: the important thing to know is who is acting. The same 'crime' may be deemed in one case a superior principle, and in another a stigma." Such is the doctrine which despite its intermittent deism and complete lack of sincerity, Hitler imposed on his faithful. Practically, it led to the negation of all moral values, to the constant justification that "might is right."

THUS German cruelties could pretend to find vindication in a certain philosophic and scientific pedantry. Unfortunately, this doctrine is quite widespread. In his strange and revealing book, *Zero and the Infinite,* Arthur Koestler creates a certain Ivanof and attributes to him the following statements: "There are but two conceptions of human ethics and they are at opposite poles. One of them is Christian and humanitarian; it proclaims that the individual is sacred. . . . The other proceeds from the fundamental principle that a collective end justifies all means and not only allows but demands that the individual be, in all respects, subordinated and sacrificed to the community —which can dispose of him either as a guinea pig used in an experiment, or as a sacrificial lamb."

We rediscover here the concept of the human guinea pig. The work of the three Swiss physicians is consequently more than an inquiry with limited ends. It makes us aware of the ominous distortion brought about by the spread of moral nihilism. It makes us realize that the duty of all free minds is to work toward the restoration of human rights. As Frenchmen, we dedicate ourselves to this task.

EPILOGUE AT NUREMBERG

by GEORGE S. MARTIN

The act of sentencing the accused of Nuremberg on Octover 1, the sentences themselves—these are simply anti-climax. The real denouement came on August 31, the last day of the trial. Its drama and essence are painted here by a former member of the Free French combat forces who covered the final phase of the trial as a correspondent.

FIVE minutes after the doors of the press and visitors galleries had been opened at 9:45 A.M. there was not one free seat to be found. Newsmen, lawyers, soldiers of all ranks and some ladies sat there expecting one of the greatest dramas of human history: the twenty-one accused war criminals, the cream of the leaders of the once-so-proud Third Reich, would make

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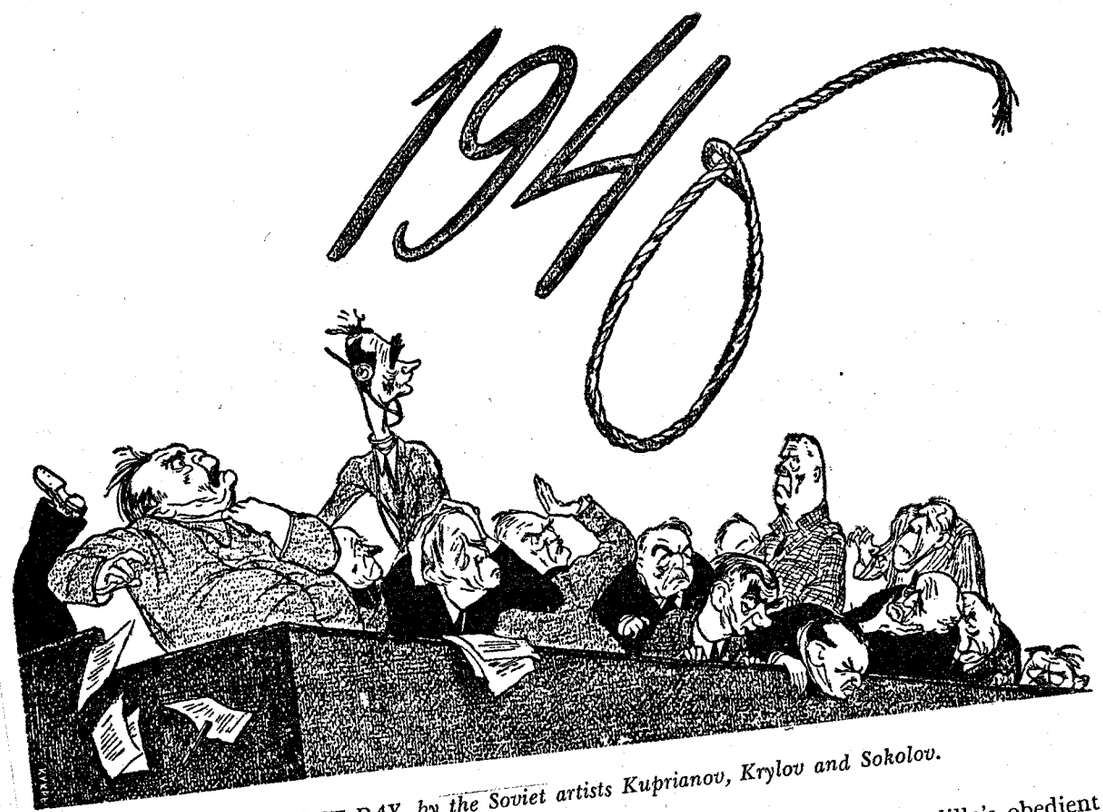

JUDGEMENT DAY, by the Soviet artists Kuprianov, Krylov and Sokolov.

their last speeches, professing their faith, explaining for the last time their ideology, hailing their dead fuehrer.

Even the floor of the tribunal was crammed with extra chairs. Everybody who had anything to do with prosecution or defense had found a seat from which to watch history in the making. The stenotypists of the court could hardly weave their way in or out of the brown-panelled hall that lay brilliant under the Kleig lights. Photographers and cameramen were working frantically to get their shots of the men who, for twelve years, had influenced the destiny not only of Germany but of the entire world. The air had a tension like that before a thunderstorm.

At 10 A.M. sharp the judges entered the court room and Lord Lawrence opened the session by calling upon the defendant Hermann Goering. He who called himself the Number 2 Man of the Reich rose to speak.

Exactly five hours 23 minutes later, when the last of the defendants had spoken, it was apparent to the stunned observers of this "Goetterdaemmerung" without tragedy that among these pseudo-great there was only one real man—and he was a madman.

Spanish Communists, even the small fry of the party, caught by Franco's henchmen and sentenced to death by the Caudillo's obedient courts-martial, faced their judges proudly cheering their party. French Resistance fighters, caught by Waffen SS or Vichyite militia, died shouting *"Vive la France libre."* I have seen Italian and French fascist youth die, either sticking to what they believed or wearing a proud smile and cursing their executioners with their last breath.

But here in Nuremberg, among the leaders of an allegedly so haughty race, only insane Rudolf Hess had the courage to say:

"If I were once more at the beginning, I should once more act the way I did act, even if I knew at the end I should die on a bonfire."

And Artur Seyss-Inquart, the traitor of Austria and the butcher of the Netherlands, at least had the decency in referring to Hitler to say, "I cannot cry 'Crucify him' today since yesterday I cried 'Hosanna'."

Otherwise, however, he was innocent like all the rest and wanted no responsibility for anything he had done. In fact, nobody had done anything. Nobody knew anything. It must have been another organization, not his. And the defense counsels for the organizations said the lower levels did not commit any crimes either. Everywhere, nothing but innocence . . .

FREE WORLD

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THE twenty-five million people who lost their lives at the different fronts, by air raids, in concentration and annihilation camps, by epidemics and famine, are still alive. Belsen, Auschwitz, Dachau and Oranienburg never existed. The whole world just dreamt a nightmarish dream . . .

At least, the nazis were not the cause of all those horrors. The leaders did not give any orders. The followers did not execute them. Streicher was a friend of the Jews, sharing the aims of the Zionists. The S.A. protected synagogues. Rosenberg wanted the happiness of the peoples of the East, and thought only of raising the level of their civilization.

When former youth leader Baldur von Schirach in a soft voice with all the intonations of honesty said that "The activities of our youth . . . proved that they have never been spoiled and were not spoiled through me," he certainly spoke of those six-year-olds in uniform, proudly wearing a little dagger, who could not be spanked by their parents when naughty because that would have been an assault against a person wearing a uniform of the Third Reich. He must have thought of those goose-stepping children who chanted, "When Jewish blood drips from our knives" or "Today Germany is ours, tomorrow the whole world." Which led him to the conclusion that "Youth . . . without exception, has been free from any actions of which it might have to be ashamed today."

He can be sure that his youth today is still not ashamed.

FINANCIAL wizard Hjalmar Schacht sang his own praise and told how he put the finances of the Reich in order, how clever he was when he made unemployment figures drop from seven million to zero. He did not say, however, that these seven million found work because they made guns and planes and ammunition for a war of aggression that would have been impossible without his evil genius.

Schacht told the prosecution off like an angry professor chiding unruly pupils. With dramatically lifted forefinger he asked them how they dared call him a criminal. He was clever enough to realize that he was in front of a court that was guided by law and not arbitrariness. He, the most dangerous of all the twenty-one, far more dangerous than pompous Hermann Goering or ruthless SS leader Ernst Kaltenbrunner, the horse-faced killer, he knew well that he would be helped by law to slip through the meshes of its dragnet.

The Nuremberg war criminals were not so naïve as they wanted to show themselves on that last day of the trial. They knew that nobody would believe in their innocence and the feigned meekness which left them only when they talked of their personal courage. The military leaders had issued no orders, had had no power to issue any, yet, they got excited when they were called "tools" or "puppets." Ex-Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz did not forget to mention that he was "the last head of the state" and as such "I consider myself responsible for everything that I have done and left undone." This, however, after he had lengthily explained that he had done nothing at all.

FAKED manliness, pseudo-courage wherever you looked. Franz Von Papen became mystic: "The power of evil was stronger than the power of good." He, known as the "Old Fox," had had no power at all, of course.

Many of the others stated that their own fate did not matter at all, but they added a plea for their organization, or German youth, or the German people. Seyss-Inquart concluded, "I believe in Germany." Erich Raeder was guilty only before God. Goering's only motive was "My ardent love for my people."

These statements were not made for the court. They were made to show the Germans how their former leaders thought of them in an hour that might well be one of their last, how they loved Germany, how they remembered the people they once had ruled. They were made to show the people what fine men they were, men in whom you could trust and believe and in whose steps you might, perhaps, follow for another German renaissance with war of aggression and expansion.

Some of the defendants took still another line. They hoped to win by trying to put the judges of the western powers against the Soviet judges. Hans Frank, after a long, pious speech suddenly proffered violent charges against Russians, Poles and Czechs who "committed most horrible cruelties against the Germans in the East." Former armament minister Albert Speer, after telling of modern techniques and long-distance guided missiles, ended: "May God protect Germany and the culture of the Occident."

WHEN the former nazi leaders left the court room on August 31, they had lost the last traces of heroism. They had no faith. They were dead without knowing it.

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THE NEW FRENCH CONSTITUTION

by LAURA VITRAY

A European correspondent and former managing editor of FREE WORLD *magazine writes of the struggle of the re-born France to evolve a new organic law reflecting a new idea.*

SOCIALISTS and Communists in the French Constituent Assembly produced tired smiles recently when the revised version of a new French Constitution was presented to them with a quotation from Lamartine. But they had to admit that the quotation was fairly apt.

"When God wants an idea to circle the world, He writes it in the hearts of the French!"

So shouted Paul Coste-Floret [see Picture Section, page 34], dynamic author of the new draft and member of the Popular Republican Party (MRP), the party with which de Gaulle's name is associated. As if to emphasize how hard it is even for God to impose His will on the French people, Coste-Floret (who lacks only the given name Fiorello) proceeded to sideswipe his water glass with an enthusiastic gesture of his chubby right hand, scattering chips and droplets over the people's representatives.

Such was the opening gun, so to speak, in the second 1946 battle of the French to base their democracy on a more up-to-date foundation than the Constitution of 1875. Last May the people went to the polls and voted "No" on the Constitution the Assembly then proposed. This new text resulted from an effort of a Constitutional Commission to revise those features that had drawn the fire of popular disapproval.

However hard it may be to reduce an idea to terms that French Socialists, Communists, Moderates and Conservatives will all accept, Coste-Floret was right in declaring that a *new idea*—one that can affect the rest of the world—has laid hold of the French people since the days when Hitler's tanks came crashing over the border. It is the idea that a nation is as strong as its ability to keep up with the times, whether in military equipment or in social techniques.

The French built the Maginot Line and lived to see its futility. They are determined now to have a government of motion, one that is promptly and fully responsive to the people's will. They are determined to strike a universal balance between capitalistic and totalitarian encroachments on freedom, by giving free democracy a chance to function in the political and social and the economic realms. It is from the standpoint of these main objectives that *any* French Constitution must be viewed.

THE constitutional draft rejected by the electorate in May went so far toward filling the required prescription that many had thought its acceptance was assured. It had been the work of close cooperation of Socialists and Communists, with the MRP swinging only rather late into opposition. Among its revolutionary features were: (1) a "Declaration of the Rights of Men" greatly augmenting the traditional "bill of rights"; and (2) a fundamentally new form of government, in which all powers—legislative, executive and judicial—resided in a single National Assembly elected by the people.

Looking a little more closely at this "Declaration of the Rights of Man" we find that among the *liberties* it guaranteed were: equal rights of men and women in all domains; freedom of belief and speech, and protection against all forms of prejudice; and equality of rights between citizens of overseas France and citizens of continental France, including eligibility to public office. Under *social and economic rights,* it guaranteed among other things health protection and medical care throughout life; free education to the extent of every individual's capacity—to which end it declared that public education at all levels is a duty of the state; the right of every man to a job; the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively, to defend their interests by union action, and to share in the management of the enterprises through their selected delegates; and the assurance that no individual should suffer economic, social or political inferiority because of sex, age, color, nationality, religion, ethnic origins or for any other cause.

This "Declaration" comprised almost one-

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third of the text of last spring's version of the Constitution. Perhaps it was a trifle grandiloquent or overdone (it is said that singing comedians took it up and set it to music, to the merriment of their audiences). All the same, in most aspects it corresponded to the overwhelming desire of the French to see democracy extended into the social and economic fields. Such a desire was but the corrolary of our industrial age, as Americans can well understand.

The "Declaration," for the most part, had the approval of the electorate last May. But in one unsuspected feature it raised a storm. That was the statement that "the organization of public instruction at all levels is a duty of the State." French Catholics professed to see in this a threat to private Catholic schools, and this was one of the contributing causes of the May defeat. France, though predominantly Catholic, has had full separation of Church and State since 1905. Many good French Catholics are strong anti-clericals, because they believe that certain authoritarian tendencies of church organization must be held in check. Petain aggravated this issue by closing the public Normal Schools, and granting state subsidy to the Catholic schools. After the liberation, one of the first acts of the Provisional Government was to annul the Petain edict. MRP's Catholic liberals, when they came into power after the constitutional defeat in May, agreed to take the lead in revision only with the "off the record" understanding that the *status quo* of the private and Catholic schools would be maintained: that is, no subsidies, no suppression. MRP spokesmen cited a finance law of March 31, 1931, which says: "Freedom of instruction is one of the fundamental principles of the French Republic." Further, they pointed out that encouragement of diversity is a shield of democracy: that it is easier for an anti-democratic regime to lay hold of *one* school system than of several. The total centralization of French public education under state control differs, of course, from the American local schoolboard plan and lends some weight to MRP arguments.

The French school controversy may be regarded as peculiar to the French scene. The remainder of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" is important to the world, as setting the pace for advancing concepts of democracy. Accordingly, I was curious to learn why the "Declaration" had been so greatly shortened and absorbed into the "Preamble" of the latest Constitution.

THIS was one of the questions I put to Mr. Coste-Floret when I interviewed him recently in his office at the Chamber of Deputies. The "father" of the new Constitution (who is a Southerner, a Catholic, a law professor, a progressive, a hot-blooded Resistance leader, and a former member of the wartime government in Algiers), thumped excitedly on his desk and cried: "Nothing of social and economic democracy has been suppressed in the new draft! Every bit of it is here! We just got rid of the excess verbiage, that's all!"

Careful comparison of old and new drafts would seem to bear him out. The new "Preamble" sets forth the equality of men and women before the law; the right to work, which cannot be abridged for any reason of origin or belief; the worker's freedom to defend his rights by union action, to strike, to adhere to the union of his choice, to participate through his delegates in management of industry. It proclaims that any enterprise that acquires the characteristics of a public service or monopoly shall become the property of society. It guarantees material security, health and medical care to all. To both child and adult it guarantees access to education and culture, and recognizes the duty of the state to organize free, public, non-sectarian education at all levels.

If Coste-Floret chooses to see in this program a revelation of God, many Americans as well as French are apt to go along with him, recalling what the Italian political philosopher Croce has said: men would know the sense of history if they would listen to the promptings of the voice that is deep down inside them; that wars and social chaos come because men prefer to make compromises that serve self-interest, rather than listen to the still small "voice of history."

To this voice of history—this social conscience—the French, though strong of will, have always been peculiarly sensitive.

When it came to defining in the new Constitution a form of government able to carry out a program of political, social and economic democracy, broad rifts of opinion appeared in the Constituent Assembly and among the party groups, as among the French people themselves.

None, very likely, favored as strong a presidency as we have in the United States. "It is a truism," Coste-Floret told me, "that in France the enemies of the Republic have always favored such a regime. The latest example was the pseudo-government of Vichy which made the heads of the various government departments

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directly responsible to the criminal Marshal. That experience is too recent and cruel to think of repeating it. Moreover, in the States your two party system gives you a President who is representative of a majority of the voters. In France, with many parties, this would not be so."

THE form of government established by the 1875 Constitution was parliamentary. It had a bicameral legislature—the Chamber of Deputies being elected by universal suffrage, the Senate by restricted suffrage. Laws originated in either body, needed the approval of both. The President of the Republic was elected for seven years by vote of the two assemblies. He designated the Premier, or head of the Council of Ministers, and presided over this body and the Council of National Defense. He participated in diplomatic negotiations. With the consent of the Senate he could dissolve the Chamber of Deputies. As chief executive he was responsible to both houses for the execution of the laws.

Many critics of the old government saw in the bicameral legislature, in the division of powers among legislative, executive and judicial branches, in the reliance on public servants not elected by universal suffrage, a serious weakening of the people's sovereignty. They wanted less cumbersome government machinery, which would be immediately responsive to popular will. Only thus, they argued, could sweeping social and economic reforms be realized.

Last spring's Constitution attempted to fill this prescription by setting up a unique National Assembly elected by universal suffrage, and having final authority in the legislative, executive and judicial fields. This Assembly, it is true, would be advised by a "Council of the French Union" (the "French Union," the new name for the French Empire, consists of continental France and all its over-seas territories). But the Council could neither originate nor enact laws. The National Assembly would elect not only the President, but also the Premier. It would elect the six members who, in addition to the President and Minister of Justice, would compose the National Judiciary Council. Thus all powers would derive from the Assembly.

Though the Socialists, headed by Leon Blum, had closely cooperated with the Communists in devising this Constitution, many Socialists deserted at the polls in May, voting "No" along with reactionaries and with those Catholics who saw in it a menace to the Catholic schools. The liberal voters professed to see in the all-powerful single Assembly a threat of totalitarianism, if in the future any political group should find itself in the majority. Even MRP critics of this instrument today admit that such a danger was remote. But there was one provision that seems to have caused frank alarm. It was that which gave the National Assembly power to declare "the Republic in danger" by a two-thirds vote, and thereupon to perpetuate its tenure of office until it should itself determine that the crisis had passed. This looked to many like an easy way for a substantial majority to seize control.

In the formulation of the latest Constitution, the Socialists have cooperated with the MRP. It seems evident they are not all too happy about this gesture to the right; Leon Blum has been sharply criticized by many of his followers, who declare that the party is losing influence by wobbling this way and that, instead of developing a strong program of its own.

MEANWHILE, the difficulties of writing a constitution were much greater than last spring. For although the voters definitely rejected the plan for an Assembly combining all powers of government, they patently did not wish a return to the old bicameral system with its brake on their will and sovereignty.

The new Constitution emerges from the dilemma with what might be called an "attenuated" parliamentary form. In addition to a National Assembly, it provides for a "Council of the Republic," elected by restricted suffrage, as was the old Senate. But unlike the old Senate, its vote is not required for the passage of laws. It can initiate legislation, it must declare its opinion on proposed laws, and laws it disapproves must be reconsidered and voted on a second time. But only the National Assembly, direct instrument of the people's will, can enact the laws—and its final decision is absolute. Meanwhile, the "Council of the French Union," provided for in the first constitutional project, has been totally dropped in this one,—though it may be restored before it reaches the people.

Regarding these totalitarian fears, Coste-Floret pointed out to me that the new text allows the National Assembly to declare the "patrie" (native land) in danger, but not the Republic. "In other words," he explained, "elections can be postponed only in the event of war or war's imminence—not for any internal or domestic cause."

There is definite separation of legislative, ex-

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ecutive, and judicial functions in the new Constitution, but the President, nominal head of the executive, has more glory than function. He nominates the President of the Council (the Premier) to the Assembly, which must first give him a vote of confidence before he can proceed to form a government. As Leon Blum put it when I talked with him recently: "The President of the Republic in the new constitutional project is the symbolic incarnation of the French state in the eyes of the country and in the eyes of foreign nations."

The barrenness of such a role drew a sharp outburst from de Gaulle, who may hope to be the first President of the new France. The Resistance hero turned his wrath even against the MRP, and hurled a bombshell into the Constituent Assembly when he publicly denounced the new Constitution before debate on it had been fully launched. His reasons are not those that will be apt to sway a majority of the French electorate. De Gaulle favors a stronger presidency, which the French disapprove. He found it strange that in the new text the National Assembly appeared to be directing the President. Said De Gaulle: "France is coming out of a drama wherein she almost perished. . . . Nothing is more necessary for our country than to organize the state in such a manner that in its structure it has sufficient strength, in its functioning it has sufficient efficiency, to direct the nation and insure its salvation whatever may happen."

To this *Le Populaire,* Socialist newspaper, replied: "The only formula acceptable for General de Gaulle would be one with a strong executive power, in the person of a President of the Republic. This concept has a name; it is called personal power. France's experiences with it have been too unfortunate to make us want to embark upon a new adventure."

Franc Tireuer, Resistance sheet, asked: "Is de Gaulle a symbol or a political figure? If the latter, it is his undoubted privilege to develop a program and present himself at the election. Otherwise it is inadmissible for him to intervene, when no one asks him, as the Republic's mentor."

De Gaulle's other important criticism of the Coste-Floret text concerned the proposed organization of the overseas possessions. He would like to see a "Council of the French Union" firmly integrated into the machinery for the conduct of French foreign affairs. De Gaulle calls the self-determination which the Constitution provides an arranement that will lead the overseas populations "to agitation, dislocation and finally to world domination." Many progressive French, on the contrary, see in it a step forward in democracy, in keeping with ideals of world organization, on which the new Constitution states: "Under the condition of reciprocity, France consents to limitations of sovereignty necessary to organization and to defense of the peace."

THERE is, finally, one side issue that greatly displeases the French voter, and that cannot be overlooked in respect to a constitution. That is the obstinate failure of the Constituent Assembly to amend the unpopular election law for which the Socialists were responsible and which is known as "proportional voting." This prevents the voter from splitting his ballot among the parties, giving his support to men of his choice. He must vote a straight ticket, and cannot even alter the succession of the list of candidates it presents. Each party, in proportion to its strength in the election results, sees a certain number of its candidates swept into office, from the top of the list downward. French voters angrily declare that no constitution will give the people full control of their government until the political parties consent to give up the grip on the government that this system affords them.

To Americans who see in all this dissension proof of French instability, one might recall what was said of the French Socialists here recently when they were airing their party doubts and differences: "Only those who have a conscience can have conflicts of conscience."

The French social conscience is flaringly alive today. It is wrestling with a great new idea of democracy, and with means for carrying it into action. What may come of this struggle is urgent and important to us all.

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FREE WORLD ASKS THE FRENCH:

"WHAT ABOUT THE NEW CONSTITUTION?"

France's position among the nations will be greatly affected by the kind of constitution on which she founds her Fourth Republic. What do French men and women think of this new charter? To answer that question, FREE WORLD *queried many French people, starting with those in the Constituent Assembly—and ending with the man in the street and on the farm. Here is a sampling of the replies:*

[See Picture Section, pages 33 to 39 incl.]

Paul Coste-Floret:

Popular Republican (MRP), who drafted the new Constitution along lines determined by the Constitutional Commission.

"The Constitution is the result of reciprocal concessions. It very clearly embraces the parliamentary system which, at every period of our history, has constituted the guarantee of the stability and prosperity of democracy in France.

"Taking into account the experience of the past, it goes a long way forward on the road of democracy and establishes in our country a Fourth Republic ever more democratic in the political, the economic and the social order. Concerned with guaranteeing the rights of all human beings, it can be an instrument fruitful in social progress, not only in our country, but perhaps in the world."

Madeleine Braun:

Communist Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly. Her party helped write the Constitution rejected last May.

"Scorning universal suffrage, Mr. Coste-Floret proposes that a second legislative body shall be elected by local and Departmental collectives, and that it shall participate in the election of the President of the Republic. In fact, under another name, this second body would become a camouflaged Senate, which would sneak in at the back door, since the people will not allow it entrance at the front gate."

Leon Blum:

Socialist, former Premier of France. His party cooperated with the Communists in writing the Constitution rejected at the polls last May, and with the Popular Republican Party (MRP) on the new Constitution.

"I remain a partisan of a single Assembly. I remain in favor of suppression of the Presidency of the Republic, a useless and inconvenient fifth wheel in a régime where the executive power must belong to the President of the Council (the Premier), responsible to the Assembly. I remain in favor of the automatic dissolution of the Assembly in case of a governmental crisis. I remain in opposition to a permanent organism charged with control of the constitutionality of the laws.

"But, when this has been said, it is impossible for me not to take into account that the majority of the country pronounced itself against the first Constitution. The democratic law of the majority must be respected.

"Is the creation of a second Chamber, not emanating from the people by direct election, an attack on the people's sovereignty? This is one of the crucial points of the debate. It is true that the "Council of the Republic" in the second Constitutional draft has wider functions than the "Council of the French Union" in the first draft. It is incorporated in the Parliament; it participates in the election of the President of the Republic; it possesses, like the Assembly and like the government, the right to initiate legislation; and the laws voted by the Assembly

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are submitted to it. But it is precisely in this respect that the May referendum furnished an incontestable mandate, and it has been possible to follow this mandate without subjecting the principle of popular sovereignty to the least bit of harm or the slightest limitation.

"The future 'Council of the Republic' presents no real analogy with the old Senate. None of its functions is a real attribute of sovereignty. The government is on no occasion and in no degree responsible to it. Its examination of laws voted by the National Assembly is an operation of a purely consultative character, since this act can have no effect other than to bring about, with a very brief delay, a second reading and vote by the Assembly. And this vote, whatever it may be, becomes definitive. It cannot dissolve the National Assembly and does not participate in any way in the procedure of dissolution.

"Thus, the Council of the Republic does not share in any degree the sovereignty of the National Assembly, which holds the people's mandate. It does not trample in any way upon this sovereignty. Its intervention has no other value than that of leading the National Assembly to "reflect", to reconsider—that is, to verify—and, where the Assembly sees fit, to reaffirm its sovereignty which remains exclusive of all other."

A French Industrialist:

"All this talk of social and economic progress is very fine, but it doesn't start the wheels of industry turning again! And that, in the last analysis, is the only thing that will guarantee jobs to the workers. What I want to know is, when will France have a stable government; and is the state going to come and take over my factory? Uncertainty about the future, lack of confidence on the part of employers, are two big things preventing France's recovery."

A French Woman Shopkeeper:

"The industrialist is right that the one big question for the French today is: 'Are we going to eat?' That is more important than anything else at all. The French people want social reforms and a decent life for all citizens. But they don't want communism, and that was one of the principle reasons why they voted "No" on the first Constitution last May."

A Policeman in Front of the Chambre Des Deputes:

"Yes, I watch the members of the Constituent Assembly go in and out here every day, and I say to myself: it's time France got through with this Provisional Government and started on the road that lies ahead! We can't go on debating forever what's best to do. Better a compromise Constitution than none at all. I thought the first one was pretty good. I think this one is not bad. France wants to take her place among the nations again. We want to be respected. Our leaders are young; they were members of the Resistance Movement. They're men of action. That's good, because it's action that the French people want!"

A Visiting Nurse:

"I think the new Constitution is wonderful! It's a constitution for the people! What is democracy worth if it can't guarantee the people such fundamental things as health protection and medical care? A nation is only as strong as the people who make it up. If they're starving, sick and tubercular, if their babies have rickets, what have you? The French used to think democracy meant only things like free speech. Now we think it means work, food, a chance for babies to be born right and grow up in decent homes. You don't need to be a politician to know that that is just ordinary common sense."

An Automobile Mechanic:

"The French people don't want charity, either individually or as a nation. We always try to look at every situation and think our way through to a solution. Right now we think we can build a Fourth Republic that has more democracy in it than America has with her capitalism, or Russia with her communism. If we succeed we may work out of the mess the war has left us in! You may be coming to us for help. You're too reactionary in America, and not conciliatory enough, from our point of view. But that's because you're young. France has suffered a lot but she still has ideas. They were always our chief export."

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A Catholic Priest:

"I haven't studied the new Constitution, but it couldn't be worse than the one we rejected last May. That one simply abolished liberty and property. Even the liberty of parents to have their children educated as they saw fit! We Catholics believe in social reforms and protection for workers and their families. But we don't think you have to destroy what has been gained in the past in order to build the future."

A Paris Policeman:

"What we really want to destroy, father, is poverty. The people want a better life—you know how much they need it! And we don't want any more war! I was a prisoner in Germany, and I can tell you that! If we can find a good pattern here in France, maybe it will prevent more trouble. You see them down at the Peace Conference, wrangling because each one wants a different kind of world. We ought to find something of our own that works."

A Subway Engineer:

"Nationalizing industry is as sensible as nationalizing the postoffice or the subways or any other public service. The war hurried it up—some of our industrialists were shot by the Germans and some were traitors. So we had to work out a new plan, and we're doing it."

A French Farmer:

"The new Constitution is more in line with French tradition than the one they gave us last May. I think it's a good thing for the Assembly to have another body checking on the laws they pass. We want to make progress, but we don't want to run wild. And remember that France isn't Russia! I don't know about taking over big factories, I guess it has to be done. But when they come to take over a Frenchman's farm, there'll be trouble!"

A Farm Laborer:

"A lot of farm workers in France are communists, and I'm one of them! After all, we aren't any different from the workers in the city. We want protection for our families. I voted "Yes" on the first Constitution. This second Constitution carries us right back to the kind of government we had before the war—and you know what that was like!"

A Waiter at the Paris Peace Conference:

"I fought in the Maquis, and I didn't eat very well during the war! But at least I kept from being sent to Germany as slave labor! Now that France is free, I want to see her get organized again, but with more democracy than before the war. I think de Gaulle was right, though: we've got to be strong enough to stand up against whatever may come!"

Three Young Women:

"The women of France haven't had much experience yet as voters. Some people say we're extremists—that the women all vote Reactionary or Communist. But that's not true. We're going to vote "Yes" on the new Constitution because we think it's progressive but not too extreme. We think in a democracy you ought to try to accord everybody's views."

The French People:

"The occupation was a worse thing than anyone who did not experience it can realize. But the Germans weren't able to stamp the love of freedom out of French hearts. It is there, stronger than ever today. Because they are so happy over their liberation, the French want to build a democracy that will hold against all assaults."

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THE FRENCH CONSTITUTION—

What do the people say?

(See article page 30)

(Photo French Press and Info Service)

"—the sovereignty of the National Assembly remains exclusive of all other"—Leon Blum, President of the Socialist Party, twice Premier of France.

M. and Mme. Blum shortly after release from German prison.

(Photo P. A.)

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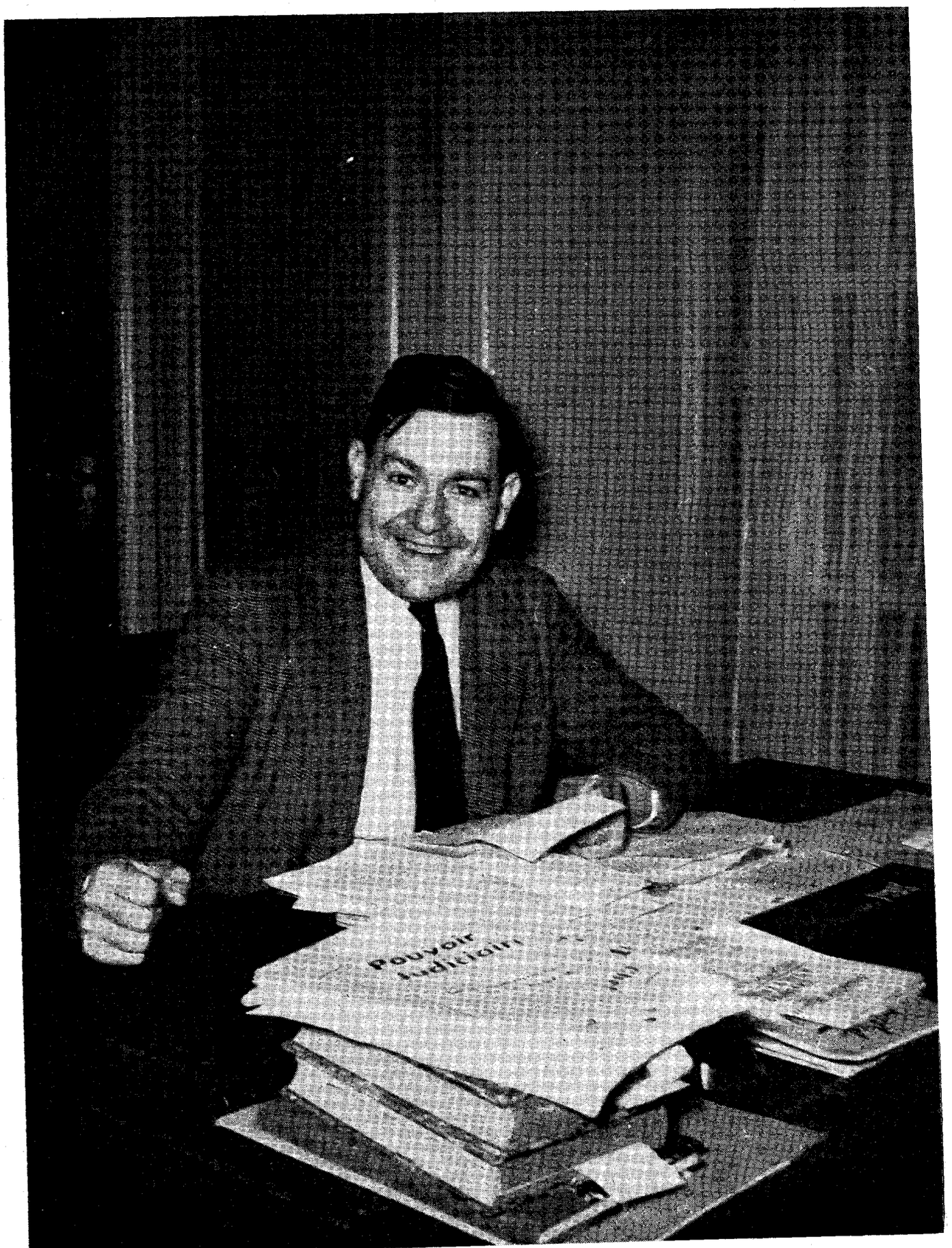

(Photo John Gugelmann)

"—it establishes a Fourth Republic ever more democratic"—Paul Coste-Floret (MRP), who drafted the new Constitution.

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(Photo John Gugelmann)

"—a camouflaged Senate would sneak in the back door"—Madeleine Braun, Communist Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly.

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"—is the state going to come and take over my factory?"—an industrialist.

(Photo John Gugelmann)

"—nationalizing industry is as sensible as nationalizing the post office"—a subway engineer.

(Photo John Gugelmann)

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(Photo Dumas—Rapho—Guillumette)

"—if they come to take over a Frenchman's farm, there'll be trouble"—a French farmer.
"—we aren't any different from the workers in the city"—a farm laborer.

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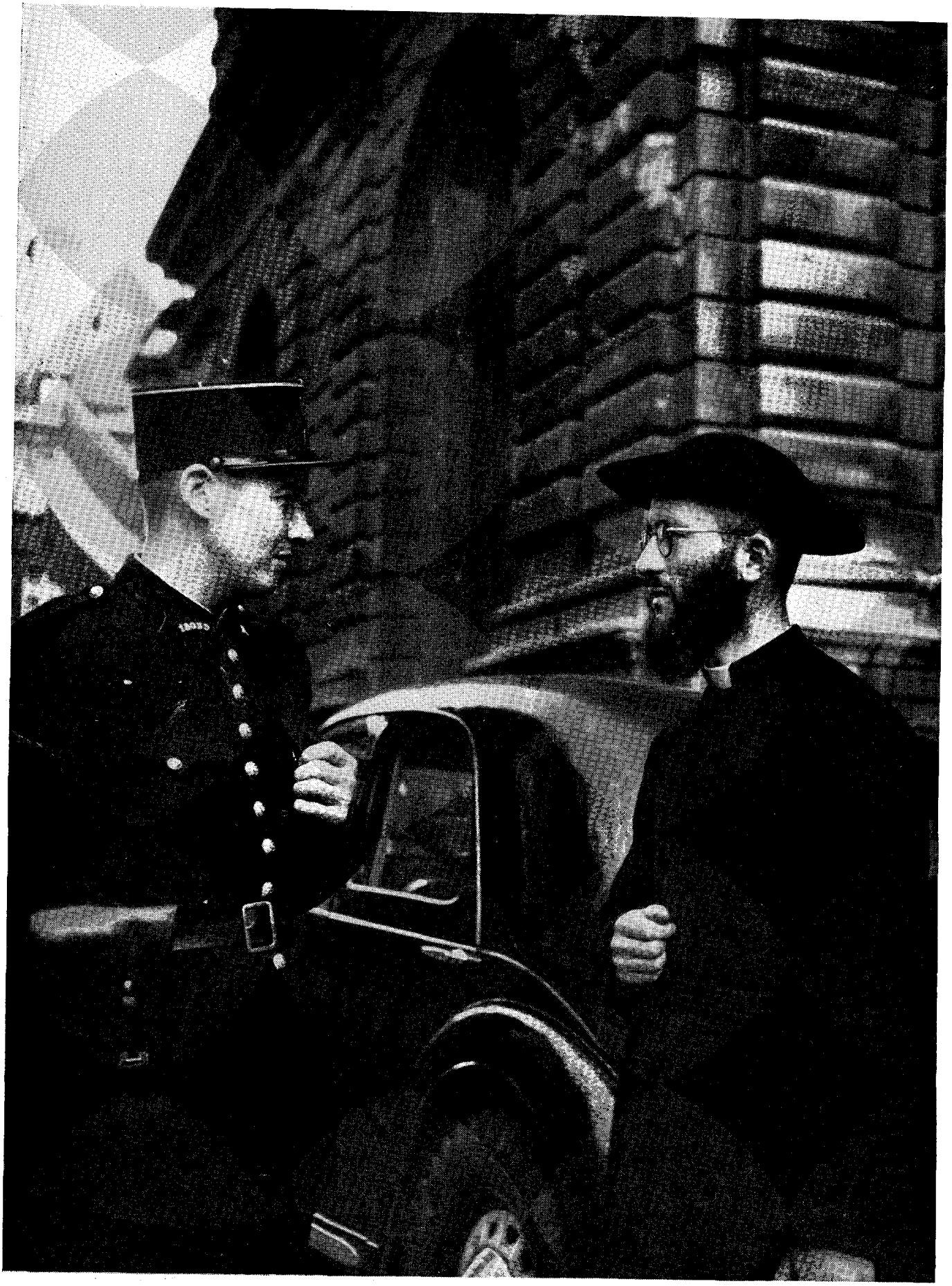

"—what we really want to destroy, father, is poverty"
—a Paris policeman.

(Photo John Gugelmann)
"—the new Constitution couldn't be worse than the one we rejected"—a Catholic priest.

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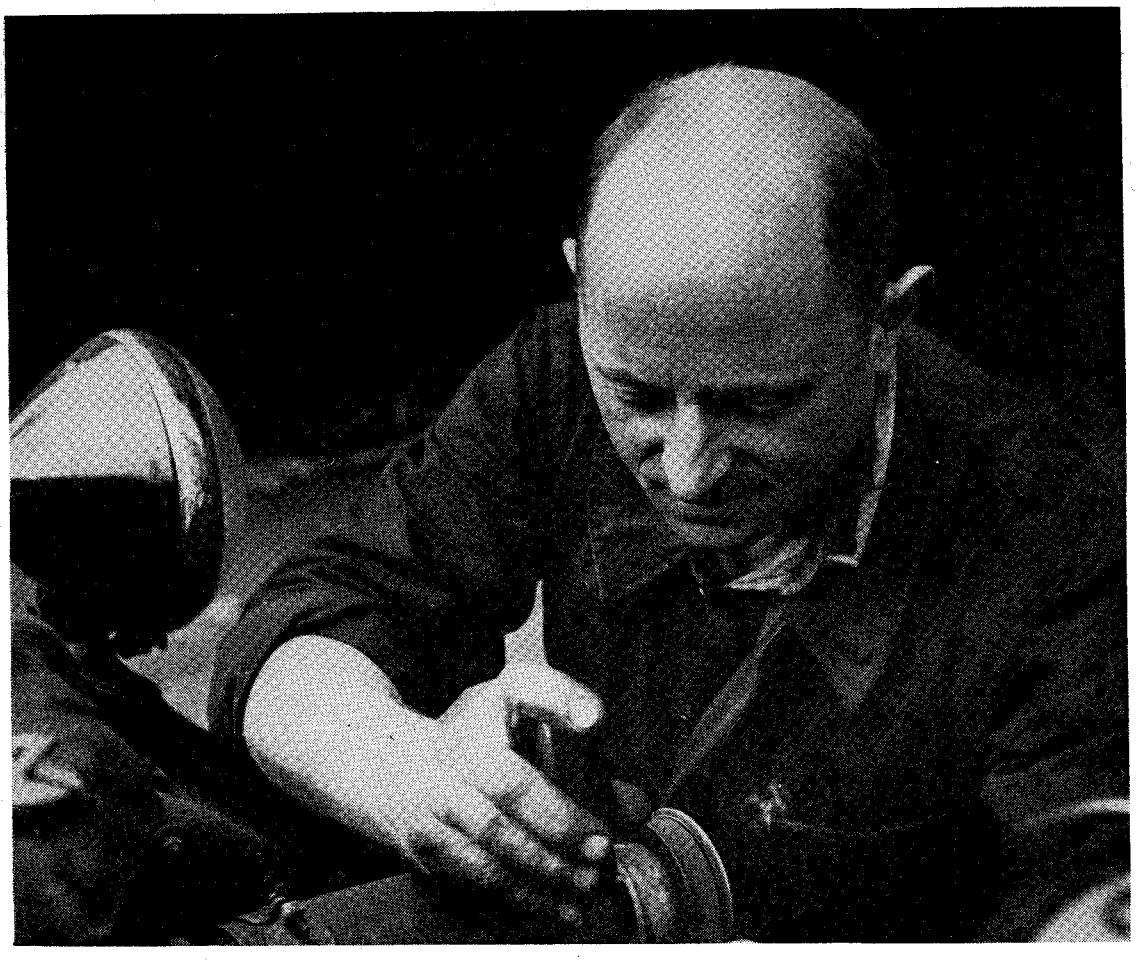
"—I want France organized with more democracy than before the war"
—a waiter.

(Photo John Gugelmann)



"—we think we can build a Fourth Republic that has more democracy than America or Russia"
—a mechanic.

(Photo John Gugelmann)

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UNITED CHILDREN—

The favorite books of children the world over are being sent to the youngsters of liberated Europe by organizations in the U. S. devoted to reëstablishing the bonds between world youth, and to counter-acting the nazi poisoning of European youth.

This little Dutch girl reaches for the friends that come to her from across the Atlantic. (Pix Photo)

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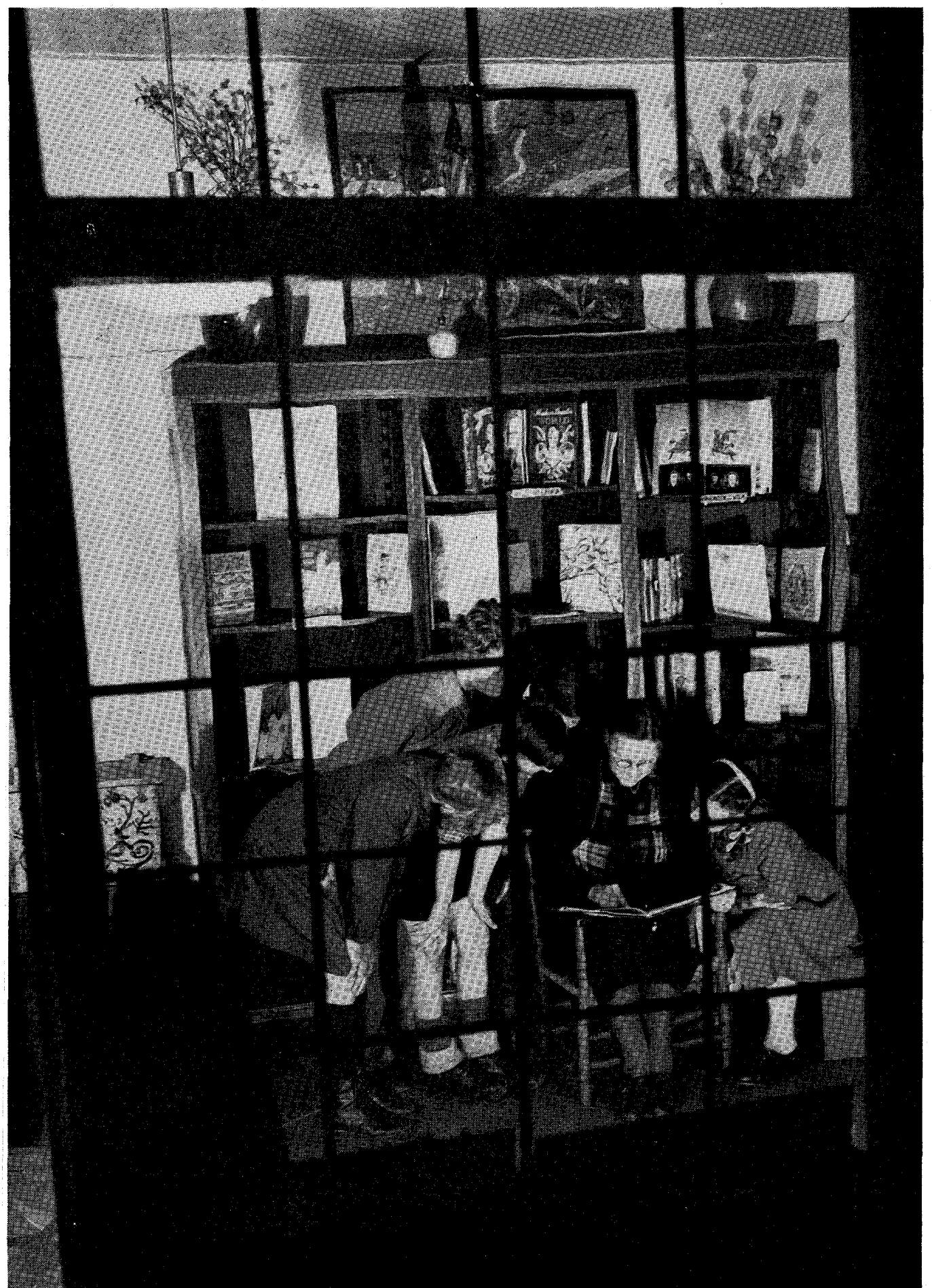

In Amsterdam, a small exhibit is set up of children's books from over-seas friends, illustrative of the possibilities of uniting those who will make the world of tomorrow. (*Photo Pix*)

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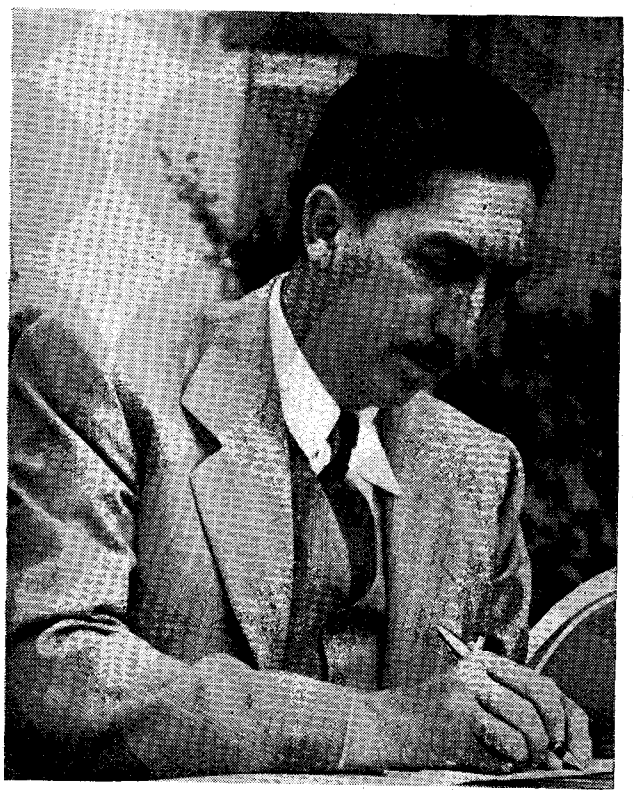
NEW DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN LATIN AMERICA

(See article page 53)



(Photo P. A.)

Mexico—Miguel Aleman, President-elect.

(Photo Wide World)

Chile—Gabriel Gonzales Videla, winning candidate in the presidential election.

(Photo P. A.)

Bolivia—Five of the six members of the Revolutionary Junta that took power upon the overthrow of the Villaroel dictatorship. Nestor Guillen, first Provisional President, second from the right. As the sans-coulotte was the badge of the French revolutionaries, the sans-necktie is that of the Bolivian.

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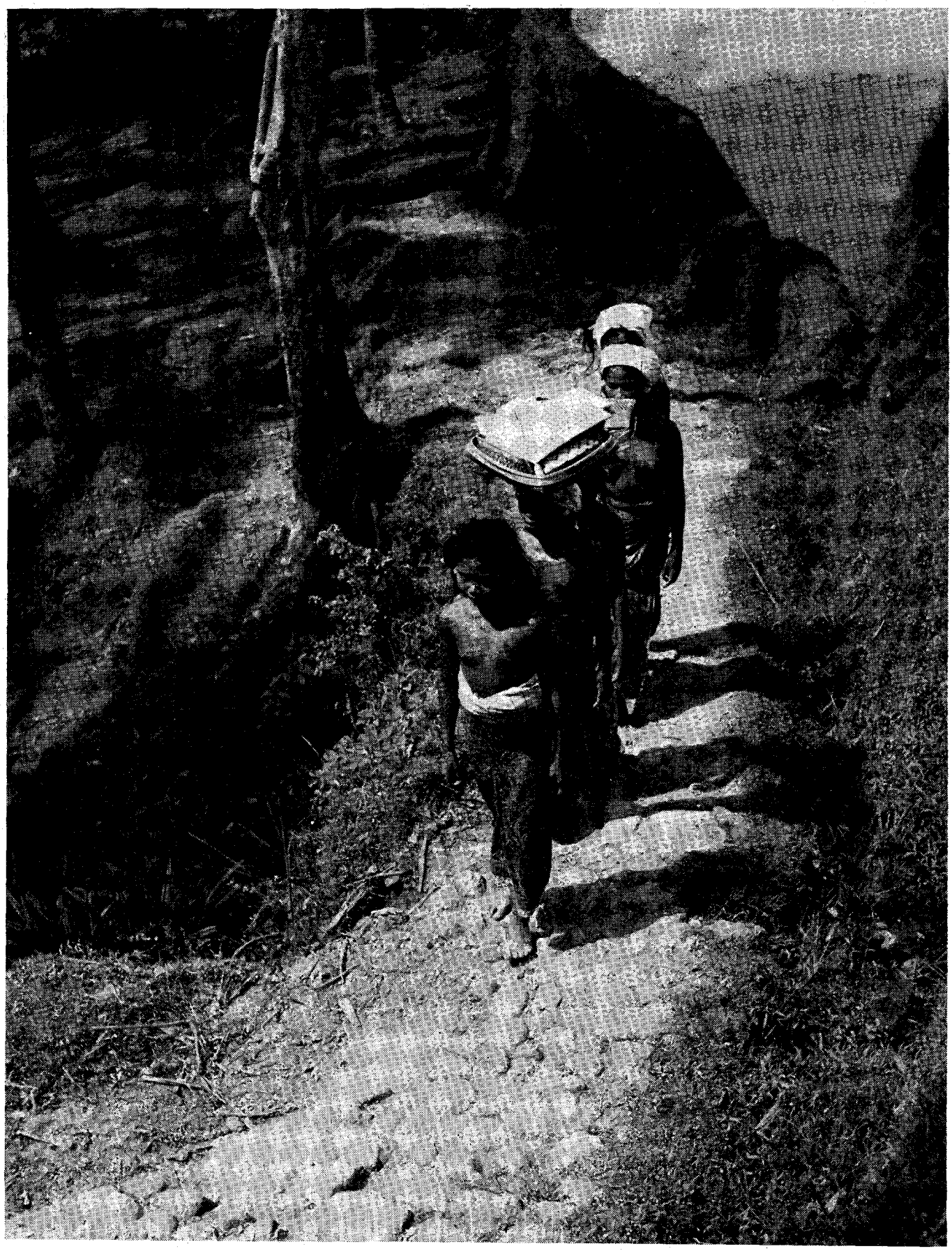
INDONESIA IN FERMENT—

(See article page 64)



The old way, the idyllic life, the natural order of things—the West says. In Bali, girls wearing batik skirts carry their wares to market. (Photo 3 Lions)

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—in central Java, young rice plants are laboriously laid out in terraced paddies.

(Photo 3 Lions)

—but there comes a stirring for independence. With sharpened bamboo poles for weapons, youths march at a rally at Jogjakarta, Java.

(Photo Press Assn., Inc.)

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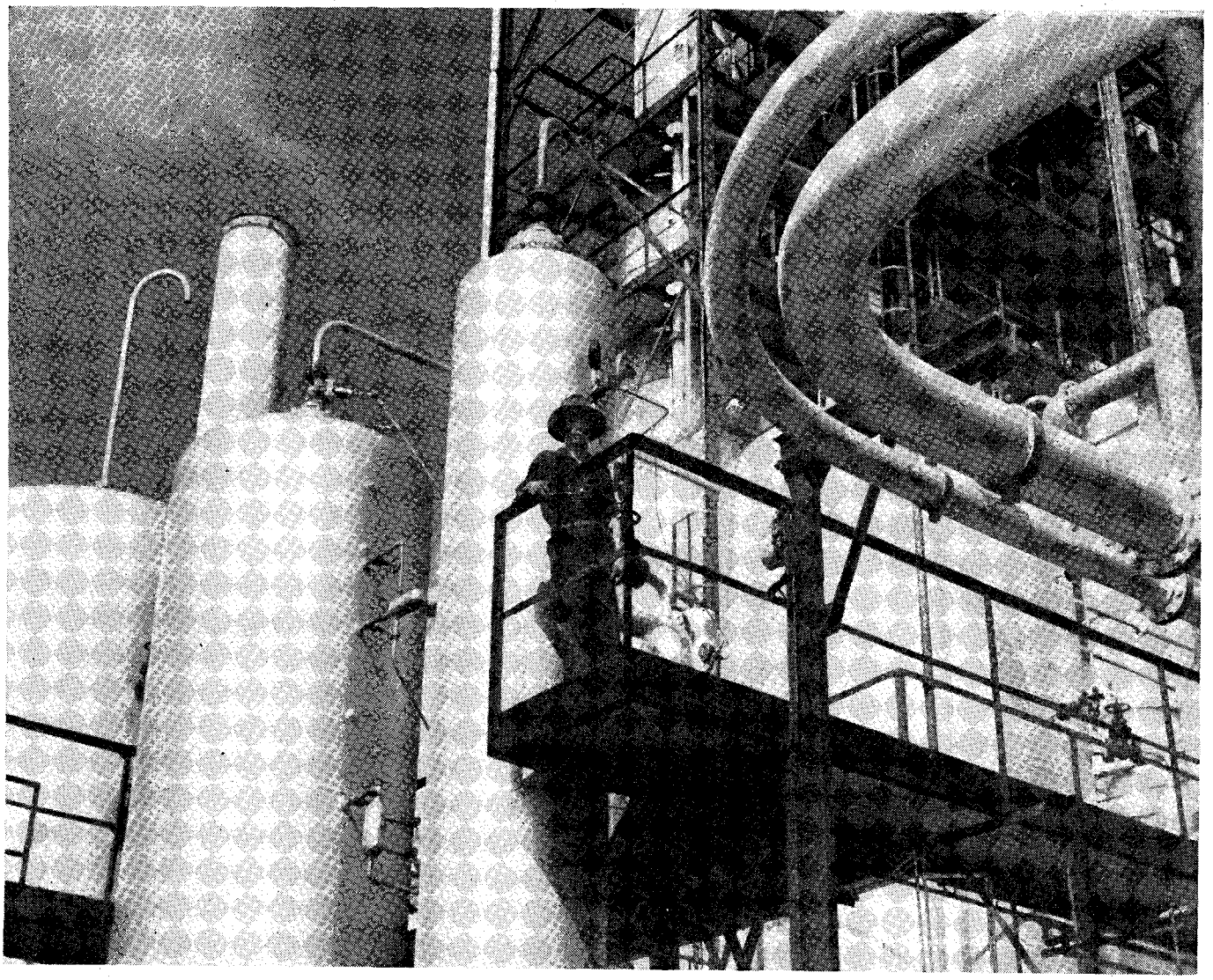

—the industrialized West is thirsty for Indonesian oil. Giant refineries are erected at Palembang, Sumatra. But also a colonial system.

(Photo Netherlands Info. Bureau)

—War. Japan drives out the white man. "Asia for Asiatics." Japan is defeated. But Indonesia continues war, its war for independence, using weapons captured from the Japs.

(Photo Press Association, Inc.)

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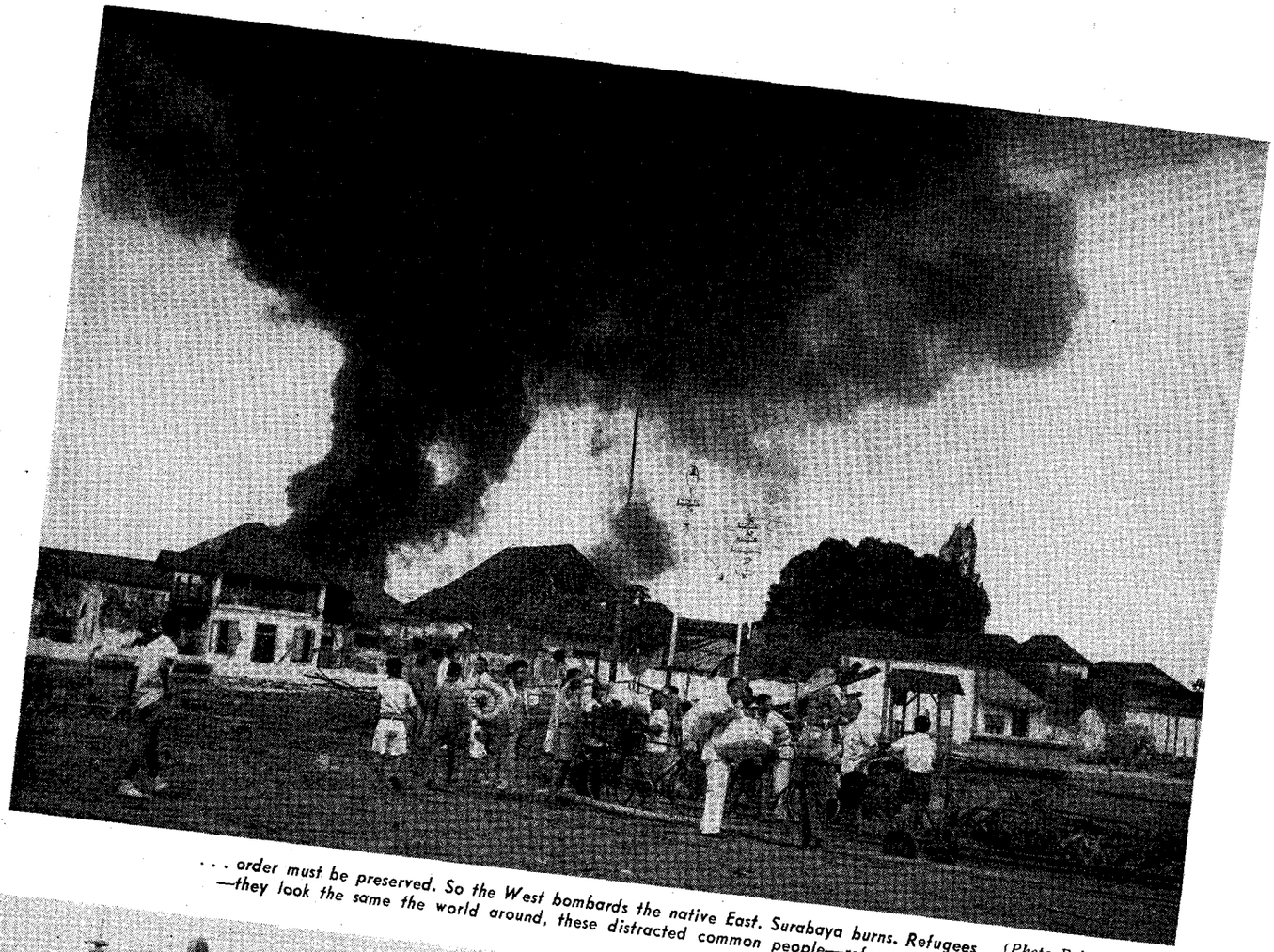
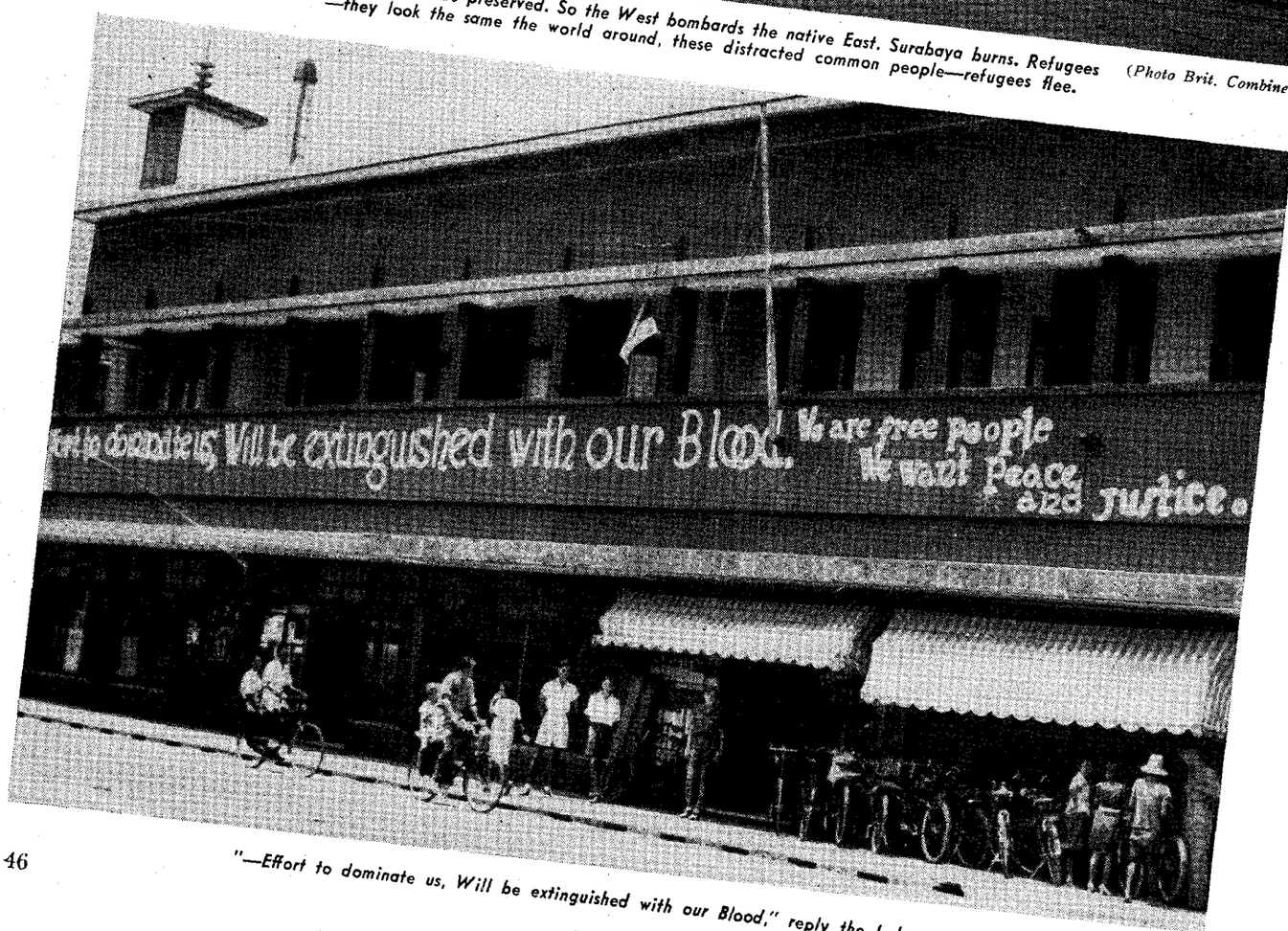


. . . order must be preserved. So the West bombards the native East. Surabaya burns. Refugees —they look the same the world around, these distracted common people—refugees flee. (Photo Brit. Combine)



"—Effort to dominate us, Will be extinguished with our Blood," reply the Indonesians. (Photo Press Assn., Inc.)

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(Photo Netherlands Info. Bureau)

From the old way, not alone to brick houses and electricity, bicycles and fedoras, but also to that called freedom, democracy. This is the ferment of Oriental colonies.

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WHEN THE BALLOT GOES LONG UNUSED —

(See article page 55)

After ten years of dictatorship—domestic and foreign—demonstrators lie dead on Athens' streets as Greece struggles to recapture the democratic way. (Photo P. A.)

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TOWARD RULE OF LAW

The International Court of Justice

by QUINCY WRIGHT

Government by law, and not by men, is as true an ideal for the nation-world as for the nation. The United States, belatedly, has joined in a positive step to forward this ideal. The distinguished author discusses here the significance of this action, and the role of the Court in promoting a law-world to replace a power-world. Dr. Wright is Professor of International Law, University of Chicago; author of many books and articles on law and political science.

THE United States deposited its declaration accepting the optional clause of the Statute of the International Court of Justice with the Secretary General of the United Nations on August 26, 1946. This declaration, which had been approved by a vote of 60 to 2 in the Senate on August 2 and signed by the President on August 14, marks progress in United States policy, in international organization, in international law and in world peace.

The twenty members of the United Nations already bound by the optional clause of the Statute of the old Permanent Court of International Justice become bound by the similar clause of the Statute of the new International Court of Justice under Article 36 (5) of the latter. Twenty-one states, therefore, are now bound to accept the jurisdiction of the Court on unilateral application by any one of them in a legal dispute. These include disputes concerning the interpretation of a treaty, any question of international law, the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation, and the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation. The states thus bound, subject in certain cases to reservations, are Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Great Britain, Haiti, India, Iran, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, El Salvador, South Africa, Uruguay and the United States. The British Commonwealth members have made reservations on disputes between one another.

United States Policy

The American policy favorable to adjudication of international disputes has been given important confirmation by the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the new World Court.

During the twentieth century this policy had fallen into abeyance. The United States, though theoretically loyal to the idea of international adjudication, had fallen behind many other states in its actual support of this policy. This had been due to the behavior of the Senate since 1897.

The executive branch of the Government, however, continued to support international adjudication. President McKinley and Secretary Hay proposed a world court at the first Hague Conference of 1899, as did President Theodore Roosevelt and Secretary Root at the Second Hague Conference of 1907. The Permanent Court of International Arbitration which emerged fell far short of these proposals. The Theodore Roosevelt administration sought to conclude general arbitration agreements and the Taft administration made a major issue of the compulsory arbitration treaties negotiated by Secretary Knox with Great Britain and France. These efforts failed because of the continued Senate insistence that every submission to arbitration must be by treaty on which it had a veto. The Root arbitration treaties, finally accepted on this basis in 1908, contained no obligation to arbitrate. While the Bryan treaties of 1913 required submission of all disputes to international commissions, these commissions could only recommend. They had no judicial authority.

The story was similar after World War I. Every President from Woodrow Wilson to Franklin D. Roosevelt favored American adherence to the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. These efforts came to nothing because of Senate fear of the League of Nations with which the World Court was associated.

From 1897 to World War II, the world made great progress in institutions of international

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adjudication and in acceptance of obligations to use them. In this progress, however, the United States had no part other than its *ad hoc* submission of a number of cases to arbitration by special treaty.

Acceptance by the Senate of the United Nations and, consequently, of the Court of International Justice, by an almost unanimous vote (89 to 2) on July 28, 1945, marked an important departure from this half century of Senate obstruction. The further step of accepting the compulsory jurisdiction provided in the optional clause confirms the policy of giving effective support to international adjudication. The United States can now sue or be sued by any of the twenty other states, parties to the optional clause, and the Court itself will in principle, decide whether the controversy is a legal dispute within its jurisdiction.

There is, however, a catch. The departure of the Senate from its traditional attitude was not so complete as might appear. The resolution originally introduced by Senator Morse by which the optional clause was accepted is subject to denunciation on six months' notice after five years. Thus the Senate exhibited a certain wait and see attitude. Another reservation excludes disputes "the solution of which the parties shall entrust to other tribunals" by agreement. This merely states the normal rule that a later agreement among the same parties supersedes an earlier agreement. But it may weaken the rule of law because the interests of third states indirectly involved in a dispute may receive less consideration in a special tribunal; furthermore, such a tribunal may give less weight to law and consequently contribute less to its development and prestige than would the Court. Another reservation designed to protect the interests of third states, parties to multilateral treaties involved in a case, seems unnecessary in view of the right of such states to intervene under Article 63 of the Statute.

More serious than these reservations is that which excludes matters "which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States as determined by the United States." If the last six words, added by the Senate (51 to 12) at the suggestion of Senator Connally, had been omitted, this would have merely stated a rule of international law which the Court would apply in any case in determining its jurisdiction. These six words, however, transfer the determination of the jurisdictional question from the Court itself to the United States. They therefore make it possible for the United States to avoid submitting to the Court in any controversy merely by calling the question domestic. The reservation therefore resembles that often made in arbitration treaties (including the Root treaties of 1908) on questions of "national honor, vital interests and independence" by which the obligation to arbitrate was reduced to virtually nothing.

The reservation differs, however, from those treaties, so far as the United States is concerned, in that the interpretation is to be made by the President and not by the Senate. Under the resolution, the jurisdiction is presumed to be compulsory and no prior agreement for submission is necessary. Unless the United States, speaking through the President, formally declares that the matter is domestic the Court will proceed to exercise jurisdiction. Judging by the past inclination of Presidents to get troublesome international questions out of the way by adjudication, it is not likely that the reservation will be invoked unless the question is one which international law would regard as domestic.

The greatest disadvantage of the reservation lies in the fact that it may be interpreted reciprocally and therefore a state which the United States might wish to sue in the World Court may escape the jurisdiction by asserting that the matter is within its domestic jurisdiction. It is to be hoped that on further consideration the United States will abandon this reservation.

International Organization

International organization cannot be effective in maintaining international peace, security and cooperation unless a balance is maintained among political, administrative and judicial organs. Too exclusive reliance on political organs will tend to appeasement of the strong at the expense of justice to the weak, and to the neglect of principles of relative permanence, leaving the present unstable and the future uncertain. Too exclusive reliance on administrative organs will tend to subordinate individual aims and initiatives to general policies and plans, to prevent that competition among ideas from which progress emerges; hence, it will tend to a limitation of the future by the ideas of the present. Too exclusive reliance on judicial organs will tend to maintenance of a *status quo* guarded by rules of law developed from past experience, when changing conditions demand change of law.

International relations have been conducted

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largely by the decentralized political instruments of diplomacy. Political influences have predominated, with all the violence and instability to be expected from that situation. The role of both international administration and international law has been subordinate. The United Nations seeks to give a greater centralization to international political organs and a greater importance to international administrative and judicial organs. Its two political organs, the Security Council and the General Assembly, will doubtless exert most influence. But its three principal administrative organs, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and the Secretariat, may exert important—perhaps in time even greater—influence. Its judicial organ, the International Court of Justice, must gain in prestige and influence or the balance will fail.

By interpreting and applying the procedural rules and general principles set forth in the Charter and other instruments, the Court can contribute greatly to the smooth operation of the United Nations as a whole.

Enlargement of the Court's compulsory jurisdiction will increase its capacity to pronounce on questions of international law and procedure as they arise in litigations between states. This is particularly important in view of the possibility that requests from United Nations' organs for advisory opinions may be hampered by the voting procedure of the Security Council. Furthermore, judicial decision in litigated cases is the best means of interpreting and applying general principles of international law, such as those stated in Article 2 of the Charter.

By such activity the Court may indicate to public opinion and statesmen throughout the world the limits within which the political and administrative organs of the United Nations should act. Political organs are prone to seek immediate solution through compromise or bargaining among the interests immediately involved in a controversy, ignoring the more remote interests of third parties, of the community as a whole, and of the future. In so far as law, embodying a long and general experience, is made influential through judicial organs, these interests are given appropriate weight. "Adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace" are not likely to be "in conformity with the principles of justice and international law" (Art. 1, par. 1) unless judicial organs are influential. As its jurisdiction expands, the Court will increase in importance and the American ratification of the optional clause is likely to encourage others to ratify that clause.

International Law

International law has played a minor role in world affairs. States have often considered it inexpedient to observe the law when they could gain a national advantage by lawless use of power, and they have usually considered it dangerous to observe the law when to do so would unsettle the balance of power and contribute to the insecurity of all. International law has, therefore, been subordinate to power politics and has only been influential when the balance of power has been stable. Power politics, however, functions by threats of war or war itself, and war has become too destructive to tolerate. Consequently, the opinion has grown that the world community must make the transition from a power equilibrium to a regime of law. Politics must function as it does in constitutional states within and not above the law.

International law, however, cannot maintain such a regime unless world opinion insists. And world opinion will not insist unless it is more aware of international law, and more favorable to that law than it is today. To achieve this improved status, international law must develop so that its rules are more adequate to the needs of the modern world and more generally applied and observed. Opinion is still organized on a national basis, and it still inclines to prefer national interests to international obligations. Governments are not sure that obligations defined by international law are just or that the obligations of others will be regularly observed; but they are sure that if they ignore national opinion they will go out of office. Consequently they hesitate to rely on international law.

The International Court of Justice can contribute to developing and enforcing international law, and thereby increasing the awareness and confidence of peoples and governments in that law. Through such activity, a time may come when governments will feel justified in relying for security upon law rather than upon their own power.

The International Court of Justice can also, particularly when its jurisdiction is enlarged by increasing ratifications of the optional clause, assure a regular application of international law in disputes between states. The United Nations Charter obliges members to comply

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with decisions of the Court and permits parties to a dispute to invoke the action of the Security Council against a party which fails to do so (Art. 94).

Finally, in proportion as the Court acquires prestige through general acceptance of its jurisdiction and compliance with its decisions, the people of all nations, by having international law continually brought to their attention, may in time develop such confidence in the Court that a world public opinion will form which will insist that national interests be pursued only by methods permitted by universal law. The transition from power politics to a regime of law would then have been effected, because such an opinion, permeating peoples of all nations, would assure the regular and proper functioning of the organs of the United Nations, and such amendments of its Charter as may prove necessary.

World Peace

Even if the optional clause of the Court is generally accepted, the Court will not often contribute directly to preventing war. Controversies likely to lead to war will in the future, as in the past, be of a political nature suitable for consideration by diplomacy, by the Security Council, or by the General Assembly. The disputes dealt with by the Court will, therefore, seldom be ones which would lead to war and when they are the Court may deal with them no more satisfactorily than the Supreme Court of the United States dealt with the Dred Scott case preceding the Civil War.

The fact that the influence of the Court in preserving peace is indirect does not, however, make it less important. By building public confidence in international law, the functioning of political organs directly responsible for preventing war will be made more efficient. Their action will be guided more by justice and less by relative power. While no less efficient in preserving immediate peace, the decisions of these organs will be less likely to deposit causes of future war. In addition to solving immediate problems, they will contribute to strengthening the world community.

It is important that the role of international law and of the International Court of Justice in world affairs be understood. There has been a school of thought that believes compulosry judicial settlement of all international disputes would end war. Another school has thought law and judicial settlement have nothing to contribute to the stabilization of a world of diverse nationalities and conflicting interests. Both views are extreme. International law is indispensable if the world community is to be stable and peaceful, but by itself it is not enough. Its influence must be balanced by that of international political and administrative agencies. The ratification of the optional clause by the United States and by other countries will contribute to this balance.

Further contributions to this end might be made by additional world judicial institutions, especially in the field of international crime and human rights. The International Court of Justice has jurisdiction only over controversies between states. There have been international mixed commissions with jurisdiction over claims by individuals against states and there have been international tribunals, such as that now concluding its labors at Nuremberg with jurisdiction over individuals accused of offenses against the law of nations.

The Supreme Court of the United States has jurisdiction over disputes between states of the Union, in this respect resembling the International Court of Justice. But its major contribution toward building federal law and maintaining the Constitution has been made, not in the exercise of that jurisdiction, but in the exercise of its jurisdiction over controversies in which individuals were parties.

Disputes between states, or any other large organizations, have inevitably a certain political character which interferes with the strict application of law even by a court of highest judicial character. Furthermore, such cases are not likely to be numerous. International tribunals competent to deal with individual claims and offenses under international law would provide wider opportunity for the judicial development of international law. Furthermore, such tribunals, by establishing direct relationship between the individual and the world community, would emphasize that the state is for man, not man for the state. They would give reality to the concept of the world citizenship of the individual, a concept which in our shrinking world is indispensable to a stable world community. By such tribunals administering a bill of human rights and a world criminal code, the international system would gradually assume a federal character.

Important as is the extension of the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, it should be considered but a first step in the development of judicial institutions required by the modern world.

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DEMOCRATIC TENDENCIES IN LATIN AMERICA

by **LISANDRO MONTES**

The author is a South American diplomat, writing under a pseudonym.

[*See Picture Section, page 42*]

THE elections recently held in Chile had the following results:

Gabriel Gonzales Videla...	191,351
Eduardo Cruz Coke.....	141,134
Fernando Alessandri.....	129,092

Mr. Gonzales Videla was the candidate for the old Radical (liberal) Party to which the last two Chilean presidents, Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Juan Antonio Rios belonged, and was supported by the Communist Party and the Authentic Socialistic Party. He represents, therefore, a coalition of the liberal parties and the leftists against the rightist candidate supported by the Catholic Church, Dr. Cruz Coke.

The majority of votes obtained by Gonzales Videla does not mean, however, that he won the Presidency. According to the Chilean Constitution, a candidate must obtain a majority of all the votes cast to be proclaimed President. Otherwise, the Congress must choose between the two candidates receiving the largest number of votes.

Dr. Cruz Coke could obtain a majority in Congress, especially if he were supported by the partisans of Mr. Alessandri. An alliance of this kind would avert the final triumph of the leftist candidate. But everything leads one to believe that Congress will not venture to undertake this manoeuver and will respect the popular desire that gave Gonzales Videla 50,000 more votes than his nearest adversary. At least that is what the Chilean Ambassador in Washington, Dr. Marcial Mora, assures in a letter published in the *New York Times,* in which he assumes that the victory of Gonzales Videla is a *fait accompli.*

This victory of the liberal and progressive forces in Chile is one of the most important events in recent Latin-American politics. It transcends the Chilean national sphere and becomes a continental triumph for the leftists. Gonzales Videla is a progressive, liberal-minded man. He was the leader of the Chilean movement in solidarity with the Spanish Republic during the Spanish Civil War, and with the Argentine democrats persecuted by the Farrell-Peron dictatorship.

In internal affairs, the radical-communist-socialist coalition government will emphasize the industrialization of the country and will endeavor to improve economic and cultural conditions of the workers. The Communist Party, which already controlled a lare part of the Chilean workers' movement, will henceforth be the decisive force in the trade-union field.

In foreign policy, the government of Gonzales Videla will follow the line of honest inter-American cooperation but will oppose all attempts to form a reactionary Pan-American bloc. The project for an inter-American defense treaty, which the Truman administration wishes to have sanctioned at the next inter-American conference, will not have the ardent support of the Chilean delegates. The leftist parties of the entire hemisphere have declared their opposition to the plan, which they associate—rightly or wrongly—with an anti-Soviet policy. Paradoxically, the great ally of the State Department in this project might be the Argentine government.

A New Latin-American Consciousness

The triumph of the leftists in Chile is not an isolated phenomenon. It comes right after two other transcendent revolutionary events and a series of political episodes denoting a common direction.

One of the revolutions was bloody and took place in Bolivia. The other was bloodless and took place in Paraguay.

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Some doubts are pending on the Bolivian outcome, for the role played by the tin magnates in the events which provoked the overthrow of Villarroel is not absolutely clear, and it is probable that at this moment the Patiño group is endeavoring to control the government to perpetuate a legendary hegemony. Total emancipation of Bolivia from the mining group which controls all its economy is not an easy task. Even if the Bolivians were to liquidate the tin kings Patiño, Aramayo, and Hotschild, the problem of the recovery of Bolivian economy would still be unsolved. This is because of the dependency of Bolivian economy, which, in turn, arises from the fact that tin is exported in the form of ore and the refining is done in other countries under the control of international buyers who fix the prices and regulate purchases at their discretion.

Bolivia is an unfortunate country which has been subjected for centuries to the monopolistic control of its sole industry. It is obliged to import practically every necessity of its people, from food and clothing to manufactured merchandise. Only a tremendous revolution, radically altering these economic premises, could transform Bolivia positively.

We do not believe that the recent revolution is of that kind, a revolution producing a government moderate and decent but incapable of finding a definite way out. Nevertheless, it is certain that it was the people who overthrew Villarroel and it is the people who will try to impress an open, democratic color on the government. The Nazi militarists have lost a conclusive battle there, and the alliance with the fascist militarists of Argentina has crumbled.

In Paraguay, the dictator Morinigo has been forced, by popular pressure and the events in neighboring Bolivia, to form a government of national union and to re-establish public liberty. All political exiles have returned, prisoners of the opposition have been liberated, and the legality of the Communist Party and the workers unions has been affirmed. Paraguay, on which Peron's group relied so heavily to build its South American bloc, is another pawn removed from the fascist chessboard.

Influence of the Proletariat

In Mexico, the full triumph of Miguel Aleman assures the continuance of the policy of the present President, Avila Camacho. With these additions, however: that the intervention of the workers organizations was decisive in the defeat of the conservative candidate, Padilla; and that the Mexican workers are getting ready to apply pressure, loyal but effective, on the policy of the new government. The influence of Vicente Lombardo Toledano on the workers' movement in that country has not diminished, in spite of the systematic opposition campaign. And the leftist leanings of the leader of the CETAL (Latin American Workers' Federation) are well known —in internal affairs as well as in international politics.

Brazil at present is in a period of enormous agitation. It can be said that she almost is in a state of permanent revolution. The reactionary forces and the leftists are fighting desperately to grasp the power precariously exercised by General Dutra. It is very probable that the liberal and leftist forces might form a powerful coalition, eventually allied with certain of the Vargas elements. There is no knowing how Brazil will emerge from the political and economic crisis which is convulsing the entire nation. But we believe that nothing but a violent and unmerciful reaction of the conservative elements could smother the popular movement, which is growing daily. We must not overlook the possibility of a bloody rightist dictatorship, but in that event, civil war would be inevitable and the popular forces are strong and decided.

In Argentina, the Peron regime has failed to establish itself. It is subjected to violent contradiction between the heterogeneous elements which brought Peron to power. However, one thing is indubitable: the workers and rural masses of Argentina, who previously played a secondary role in the quarrels of the traditional parties, have erupted in the political arena and are now fighting for their recognition.

Whatever may be the fate of the Peron government—and there are many who give it short shrift—future Argentine policies will be moulded by new factors and by the advent of political consciousness among the urban and rural proletariat. It cannot return to the idyllic times of oligarchic and conservative politics. Fascism has unleashed a popular force which it can now no longer control and which is beginning to work on its own. The hierarchs of the Church and the colonels of the G.O.U., who originally armed this force, now tremble under their cassocks and their uniforms.

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WHY GREECE TURNS RIGHT

by W. W. WAYMACK

The author of this article, eminent in American journalism, is editor of the Des Moines "Register and Tribune"; during the war, he was special adviser to the Department of State, and member of the National War Labor Board.
During the past year, Mr. Waymack was one of the seven American members of the Allied Mission for Observing Greek Elections (AMFOGE), holding the temporary rank of Minister. This involved three months of intensive study of Greek conditions, more than half of the time in Greece, and the exceptional fact-finding resources of the whole unique AMFOGE operation. The function of AMFOGE was limited to the determining of certain conclusions as to the fairness of the general Greek election of March 31 last. This article, wherever it goes beyond the official published report of AMFOGE, represents solely the unofficial and personal interpretations and judgments of the author, which may or may not be held by any other member of the Mission.

IT is impossible to present in an article all the significant background of current Greek political developments. But it is impossible to have any understanding at all of those developments, including the victory of the Right in the parliamentary election of last March 31 and the more recent victory of the monarchists in the plebiscite which has restored King George, without bringing into focus a good deal of background, some of it relatively deep in history.

Greece is a small country, territorially and in population. It is economically poor—rated by a League of Nations commission in 1934 the poorest country in Europe. It is militarily weak. It is located "strategically" with respect to the Balkans, with respect to the Dardanelles, with respect to the whole Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Therefore Greece is inevitably and always under the shadow of Great Power politics, and more or less at the mercy of Great Power tensions and rivalries.

The population is a mixture, varying by regions. Nevertheless Greece is a nation, with probably the richest traditions in the Western world, and has a national character and national aspirations definitely its own.

The religion is Greek Catholic. The clergy is "close to the people." The head of the Greek church, Damaskinos, was the one man on whom factions could possibly agree as regent from the time of the Liberation up to and through the elections.

Since Greece achieved her independence in 1821, institutional changes have been frequent. Constitutions have been written and re-written. There has been monarchy and republic.

But the great majority of Greeks is democratic, profoundly. Freedom, both national and individual, is the central aspiration. It is impossible for the majority of Greeks today to acquiesce, except briefly and under duress, in loss of the essential liberties, such as freedom of expression.

The monarchic tradition, however, still lives and still has popular strength, not "class" strength alone. This is a reality, existing alongside the democratic tradition. The balance normally varies by regions. Crete is sturdily republican; Venizelos was a Cretan. The Peloponnesos is preponderately monarchist. Yet last March, in the middle of the election campaign, Greeks of the Peloponnesos, enthusiastically forgetting faction for a day, marched and paraded all over the place in tribute to Venizelos, dead only a decade.

A specific background fact to remember is the huge—for Greece—transference of population effected by agreement at the end of the Graeco-Turkish war, which followed the First World War. Greeks from Asia Minor amounting to almost a quarter of the then population of Greece itself were brought in and were "settled." Mostly these transplanted Greeks were added to the north, and many of them eventually swelled the larger urban population. This has somewhat affected the political balance; and, curious though it be, has probably somewhat strengthened the parties of the Left.

With this inadequate but important sketch of general and long-range background in mind,

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let us come to the more immediate background —the last ten years—where most of the answers will be found.

IN 1936 the democratic process in Greece was blotted out by the domestic coup that set up the Metaxas dictatorship. Bad economic conditions doubtless contributed to this. It was certainly not unrelated to the rising tensions of all Europe—the rise of dictatorships and the preparation for world war. From 1936 until 1946 democracy was denied all chance to practice. Devotion to it was driven underground. The "middle" parties, which when united added up to a decisive majority, were handicapped enormously and weakened progressively. The habit of deciding things, however heatedly, by ballots was replaced for ten years, by the dictatorship, the war, and the occupation—by the technique of the bullet and knife. Ten years in which violence was the only possible recourse of anti-totalitarians inevitably gave the lead to extremists. It was the effective guerrilla leader who developed, not new democratic politicians.

It is probable that, meantime, the domestic forces of the Right gained something by the prompt, patriotic and surprisingly successful military resistance to the Italian attack. The Right dictatorship got itself identified with the over-riding national cause. Some of this emotional gain may have persevered.

Overwhelmed by the Nazis, despite British help, the Greeks created and maintained one of the most effective resistance movements in all of occupied Europe. Into it went Greeks of nearly all political shades, though unquestionably the conquerors found, as usual, more collaborators among the Right extremists. The resistance movement proceeded through military organization to a species of parallel political organization. Toward the end, the resistance movement actually had control of some regions, constituted a sort of *de facto* government. And in all this widespread guerrilla operation, Greek Communists, though their party had been numerically small, were best equipped to acquire leadership—and they did.

The familiar pattern of "lost touch" and of a widening chasm between the home fighters and the government-in-exile naturally appeared. Numerous bridge-building efforts achieved nothing permanent. Where most of the unreasonableness lay is not so important. The point is that the chasm remained. Dissatisfaction with the government-in-exile finally exploded in a naval mutiny, which was suppressed. The lines hardened. The stage was set for conflict between Right and Left extremes. When Liberation came—the Axis forces moving out and the British forces moving in—the conflict came. There followed in December, 1944, a brief but cruel and bloody "civil war."

IT must be recognized that the demand of home resistance forces for a voice, an important voice, even a dominant voice in determining the character and providing personnel of the post-Liberation regime was natural. Insistence on vigorous liquidation of collaborationists and of extreme Rightists armed forces that had fought the Resistance without quarter —this was natural.

Even with these appeals to wider support, however, the revolt of the resistance leaders (an attempt to seize power by violence) was reduced at once to an enterprise of the extreme Left. Whether or not it had been originally a Communist plot for purely Communist purposes, it enlisted little except extreme Left participation. British land forces, in the name of law and order, were the deciding element in its quick frustration. The end was the compromise by which armed forces of the Right as well as those of the Left were supposed to disarm and in which a groundwork was laid for national unity, including early elections.

But in the few weeks of the open conflict cousins had killed cousins, villages had been raided and burned, wells had been filled with slaughtered hostages, and the horror of ruthless "family war" had been experienced.

Also, the economic plight of the country, bad in 1936, had worsened steadily. The war, the occupation, the liberation campaign and the insurrection had deprived a poor country even of its poverty. Never self-sustaining economically, Greece had lost crops, flocks, shipping, its little railroad system, the use of its harbors, and, practically speaking, its highway transport. If ever a country was prostrate, Greece was at the Liberation.

So the shadow of the Great Powers lay thinly over Greece. The shadow of the ten-year hiatus in democratic experience lay more darkly over Greece. The shadow of a desperate economic condition, demanding energetic and swift action, overlay that. And finally there was the shadow of the brief civil war, with its blood-red tinge. Above all, this one was the shadow of Fear.

It was in such circumstances that the parliamentary election was held, after postponements last March 31.

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AN election had to be held. All factions agreed on that. Successive provisional, interim, "service" governments had utterly lacked the strength even to start doing necessary things. No adequate tax program, no effective control of inflation, no physical rebuilding worth mentioning (including highways) could be hoped for until a government resting on a popular mandate existed. The Greek people were dependent on foreign relief merely to continue to exist.

Not only had all factions agreed on an early election; they had also agreed to take advantage of that part of the Big Three declaration of Yalta in which assistance of the Great Allies was pledged in the setting up of democratic regimes in occupied countries as they were liberated. With this mandate from the factions, including the Left, the interim Greek government requested participation of an Allied mission. The upshot of this was the Allied Mission for Observing the Greek Elections (AMFOGE) for which America, Britain and France sent contingents. Russia had been invited, but declined. Russia did not, however, manifest a hostile or obstructionist attitude either in Greece or at the level of major international conferences and diplomacy. While there was a flurry in the French Chamber and another in the British Commons, they did not prove serious. It is fair to recognize that Russia could have bedeviled the whole operation of AMFOGE prior to the March 31 election if her government had so chosen, and that it did not so choose.

Holding a democratic election after ten years —ten years of the kind that had been experienced—had inevitably great difficulties. There were dislocations, such as shifts of population. There were uncertainties about even such facts as the actual population of Greece, the number qualified to vote under Greek law, and so on. There was weak government and imperfect administration, the fault of a situation rather than of men. There were suspicion and passion that made inter-party agreement shaky.

The story of the party jockeyings, of the coalitions proposed and those effected, of the postponements and other concessions to the Leftist groups, cannot here be told and is not essential. Just two points need to be noted:

1. Demands of the Left for further postponement on the ground that full, fair and free voting could not be prepared for were proven by the election itself to be unjusified. A short postponement would have improved nothing. A postponement long enough to alter the political "climate" would have meant, say, two years; and Greece couldn't wait that long for a try at political stability.

2. Negotiations between Left and Middle groups for a large enough coalition to assure an anti-monarchist result went on until shortly before the voting. Not until eleven days before election was the collapse of such negotiations certain. Not until March 20 was it known that EAM, consisting of the Greek Communist party and affiliate groups, would abstain from voting. Previously EAM adherents had qualified for voting by registering.

THE detailed story of Operation AMFOGE, the work of the Allied Mission, also must be omitted. These general facts about it, however, are important:

1. It functioned uniquely as an Allied organism. The American, British and French nationality counted for practically nothing.

2. The organization, including personnel and techniques, was equipped for its job of fact-finding. It did an amazingly thorough job in this, which was its field.

3. The principle of objectivity was actually the guide.

The net of all this was that the election was held; that the main facts as to its conditions were knowable and known; that a larger proportion of the total eligible voters participated than usually participate in the United States, even in a presidential election; that voting fraud was negligible and coerced voting of inconsequential proportions; and that the Rightist coalition polled enough votes to have controlled the new parliament even if there had been no "strategic" abstention by the Left.

Despite adverse conditions, including terrorism here and there, it was by American standards a fair election, in the vital sense that a majority of Greek voters freely expressed their preference.

Why was the preference what it was? Why did the Rightists win?

THIS raises the only point about fairness that can be raised, and it is a point which, again applying American or even "Western" standards, is unpersuasive.

Because of what had gone before, and most especially because of the "civil war" of December, 1944, the election took place in a "climate" unfavorable to the Left and even to the Middle parties. It was a period of recoil from the terror of civil war. It was not possible to forget that after only fifteen months. Nor

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could the memory be expected to fade in twice fifteen.

The impact of the civil war, added to the strengthening of Right and Left extremes and the relative weakening of the Middle parties during the hard decade, drove moderate voters into the Rightist ranks. That determined the result.

The "climate" was against the Left. The smart and genial Leftist leaders knew it. That was the real "why" of abstention. Making all possible allowance for other factors, including some perfectly legitimate grievances of the Left, that was the main thing.

As democracy operates in the Western world it is never figured that an election, to be "fair," must be held at a time when each major party has an exactly equal chance to win. In fact, no election is ever held in which that is the condition. Under the British parliamentary system, for instance, the party in power always "goes to the people" at the moment when it at least *thinks* its chances are best. In America, with fixed elections, we give not a thought to equality of party prospects as a pre-condition of fairness. Our Democratic party was fated to lose in 1920. Certainly our Republican party had not a "Chinaman's chance" in 1932. Maintenance of the democratic process biennium by biennium is what counts to us. By the same test, restarting of the democratic process in Greece, the more so because of the desperate need of a government capable of action, was the essential thing there.

The preference of any American liberal (which I think includes the author) would have been for a victory by the Middle groups in Greece and for eventual choice of a republican form. But that was and is irrelevant.

The British land forces in Greece played no part in the March 31 election, unless their mere presence, strictly confined to barracks, was a discourager of sheer, large-scale violence. If silently they had that effect, which is conjectural, it was a contribution to a fair election, certainly not the reverse.

The author has nothing like the personal knowledge of the facts of the recent plebiscite on the monarchy that he had of the conditions of the parliamentary election. It seems a reasonable assumption that the fundamental explanation of the March result is also fundamental in the explanation of the plebiscite result.

The test of the constructive value to the Greek people of getting the democratic process re-started, which was the real accomplishment of last March, largely depends on whether the now victorious monarchists prove capable of enough statesmanlike restraint in the exploitation of victory to head Greece toward workable unity and not toward unworkable division. The capacity to get things done in the economic area is another part of the test.

THE current furor about Greece as a "threat to world peace," in the accusations and counter-accusations of the Security Council Session, is really directed at Britain first and America second. It is the game of Great Power politics.

With respect to this, Greece's own fears of her Balkan neighbors are incidental and unimportant. It illustrates the fact that when Great Power tensions run high, strategically situated little nations are the victims. Given a release of Great Power tensions, Greece would be no international problem—and the danger of the mild kind of reaction that produces the sequence of constitutional monarchy deteriorating into the black reaction of Rightist totalitarianism, would largely disappear.

And that, of course, is but a partial way of saying that everything depends for all of us on release of Great Power tensions.

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UN FOOD and AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION

by T. SWANN HARDING

All of the complex superstructure that political or social or economic man has erected hangs on physical sustenance: food, its adequate production and effective distribution. The first Specialized Agency of the UN established after the war was the Food and Agriculture Organization, which last month held its second conference in Copenhagen. This article deals with the problems and processes that gave rise to the Organization, and with the scheme and objectives and possibilities of this international undertaking. Mr. Harding is information specialist and editor of the publication "USDA" of the Department of Agriculture; author of several books, his forthcoming one "Two Blades of Grass" being a history of the scientific achievements of the Department.

WHY is there a Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations? What made the nations regard it as a necessity? What is its purpose?

To answer these questions exhaustively we could go far back into history. But here we need only observe, first, that never at any time has the world produced sufficient food to give all of its people fully adequate diets. And second, that because of the revolution in agricultural production technology during the past quarter of a century, it has become physically possible for the world to do this. The major purpose of the FAO is to show how this objective can be attained.

Duly forgotten, but nonetheless still important, is the final report of the Mixed Committee on the Problem of Nutrition, set up in 1935 by the League of Nations. That document, issued August 14, 1937, defined an adequate diet as one containing sufficient energy and protective foods to enable the individual to maintain health. The study covered Europe, the British Dominions, South America, and the United States. Widespread malnutrition was reported in even the most advanced countries like the United Kingdom, Sweden and the United States.

Conditions were far worse in central and eastern Europe, while the inhabitants of Asia and Africa, and most colonials, simply never knew what it was to have enough to eat. In Great Britain, only the top 10 per cent income group was liberally fed. The diet of the next 20 per cent showed definite deficiencies, and for the remainder the diet was far from adequate. Similar conditions obtained in Australia and in South Africa.

In March 1941, the Department of Agriculture published a study entitled "Are We Well Fed?" In terms of this study "good" diets exceeded the minima in all dietary essentials by at least 50 but not more than 100 per cent; "fair" diets met all minimum standards, but exceeded none of them by more than 50 per cent; "poor" diets failed to meet minimum nutritional standards in one or more respects. By these standards, only one-fourth of our families had good diets, one-third had poor, the remainder rated fair. One-fourth of our farm families had only fair and one-fourth had poor diets. Only one-fifth of those in cities and villages had good diets, and over one-third had poor. Negroes fed more poorly than whites at the same income levels. Obviously, then, our own people were not well fed and approximately a third suffered from dietary want.

TO have fed all our inhabitants well we should have been producing twice the quantity of milk and dairy products that we did, about 50 per cent more tomatoes and citrus fruits, and twice as much green and leafy vegetables. But the undernourishment of the people of the wealthiest nation on the globe was not due to inability to produce food. The cause was inability properly to distribute food to those in need of it.

Before World War II, two-thirds of the world's people procured 80 per cent of their calories from cereals, indicating a low dietary level. At least 75 per cent of all Asiatics had diets below American and European standards of adequacy, yet they spent 85 per cent of the family income for food. Whereas minimum decent living for a family of five in India would

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have required an income of at least $68 a year, farm tenants there got only $27 a year, of which $15 represented production of food for home use.

In most of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific Islands animal protein was a luxury. If fully fed, the world would have had to produce 50 per cent more cereals; 100 per cent more meat, fish, and poultry; 125 per cent more vegetable oils; and over 200 per cent more tomatoes and citrus fruits.

IT did not take extremely far-sighted people to observe that such conditions as this threatened world stability in time of peace. The Atlantic Charter's Freedom from Want was basic for the world of tomorrow—in which we subsist today. Freedom of speech and democracy have, as we painfully learn daily, quite different meanings in different parts of the globe, but a calorie is a calorie all the world over.

The provision of adequate food would have a more profoundly beneficial effect on world health—mental and physical—than any other single reform. Nutrition science can set up minimum standards for any given country. Today, the application of the new agricultural technology would enable us to produce all the food the world's people require. World-wide adoption of sound nutritional standards would have a highly favorable effect on world agriculture and on the relations between nations.

RETRACING our steps, we find the foreshadowing of such an organization in the International Wheat Agreement, prepared at the Washington wheat meeting, July 1941 - June 1942. The Agreement was jointly announced July 2, 1942, by the signatories—Argentine, Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States.* What was the trouble?

For a long time the world had tended to raise more wheat than it could distribute. There was foreign dumping at low prices and there was widespread waste. Wheat also was raised in many countries where it could be produced only at excessive cost, while other parts of the world which could grow it cheaply did not produce it. So an effort was made by these large wheat-exporting countries to arrive at some rational agreement about world wheat production and distribution.

*Today the International Wheat Council represents nine wheat-importing and four wheat-exporting countries, and has drafted an international wheat-control plan. It last met in August 1946, reelecting Director Wheeler of the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations as its chairman.

The Preamble to the Agreement emphasized the fact that producers of international commodities like wheat were necessarily affected by standards of living throughout the world; the necessity for cooperative action for the relief of war-stricken areas by gifts of wheat from a previously established pool; and such conditions of production, marketing, and supply as would maintain ample world supplies, reasonably remunerate producers, and give consumers fair prices. The idea was, in the main: adjust production to much broadened world consumer demands, avoid ruinous surpluses, and adopt the ever-normal granary principle on an international scale.

THE next step was the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs, Virginia, May 18-June 3, 1943. The conferees first re-discovered the undernourished world, noted the obvious fact that malnutrition, disease and poverty were closely connected, and opined that three-fourths of Asia's 1,150 millions lived below decent health standards. Yet Britain and other countries had shown that health could be maintained under most difficult conditions during war by the adoption of scientific food and nutrition policies.

The Conference recommended a general broadening of consumer demand, even by subsidy if required. It also advised increased crops for human food rather than livestock feed, and the utilization of the most efficient farm methods. It declared that because of trade barriers and other adverse factors, world agriculture was hopelessly unbalanced and distorted, making it necessary for economically wrong products to be grown in the wrong places, and eaten on the spot at high cost. The Conference suggested that the nations no longer eat at the expense of one another; that the vested interest in uneconomic farming be killed; that more aid be given farmers generally.

The Conference proposed the establishment of an Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture (to function until a permanent organization would be evolved) to promote and coordinate research, and to collect and disseminate information. The Commission was formed, and its studies covered not only world malnutrition and food management, but agricultural production, fisheries, marketing, forestry and forest products, and possibilties of international coordination. The Commission reported August 1, 1945, and on October 16 the same year the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations came into

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Sir John Boyd Orr, Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization.

existence when delegates of thirty nations signed its Constitution at the opening session of FAO's first conference, held at Quebec.

UNLIKE UNRRA and the International Emergency Food Council (which superseded the Combined Food Board in the summer of 1946) FAO is not a temporary or an emergency agency. It was the first permanent UN agency to be launched since the war. Nations accepting its constitution dedicated it to the general tasks of raising living standards and levels of nutrition; improving the efficiency of food and agricultural production; ameliorating the condition of rural people; and thus, generally fostering an expanding world economy. These were essentially the objectives set by the Hot Springs Conference, and the Interim Commission laid the ground for a permanent FAO to achieve them.

Specifically, FAO's primary functions are as follows: To collect, analyze, interpret, and disseminate information on nutrition, food, and agriculture the world over; to promote research and education on these subjects and on the conservation of natural resources, improvements in agricultural production, processing, marketing, and distributing food and agricultural products; to evolve necessary national and international credit policies for effectuating its plans; and to furnish such technical assistance to member governments as they may need and request.

FAO's policy-making body is composed of one representative from each member-nation, and each nation has at least one vote in the Conference which is to meet at least once a year. At the Quebec Conference, the distinguished Scottish food, nutrition, and farm expert, Sir John Boyd Orr, was unanimously chosen FAO's Director-General. Member governments are regularly to report to, and to accept advice and information from FAO for the furthering of its objectives. In short, FAO will seek to link the known needs of people for food and agricultural products with the best means of satisfying those needs. Its modest budget for the first five years is a million dollars a year, drawn from member-nation contributions. The member-nations now number forty-seven; unfortunately, the Soviet Union and Argentina have not yet joined.

FAO'S second conference met at Copenhagen, September 2, 1946. In preparation, the Organization had completed a food survey of seventy

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countries comprising 90 per cent of the earth's population which again proved, if that were necessary, that dietary conditions the world over are unsatisfactory.

The principal item on the agenda of the Copenhagen Conference was a plan for a long-range, world food policy which extended the principles of the ever-normal granary and the broadening of food distribution to an international level. This plan, inspired by the Director-General and commonly called the "Orr plan," envisaged the establishment of a World Food Board, designed to stabilize the prices of agricultural commodities on world markets; to create world food reserves adequate to meet emergencies; is to provide funds for disposal of surplus agricultural products on special terms to countries in dire need; and to cooperate with other appropriate organizations to achieve these ends.

At its closing session, September 13, the Conference approved the establishment of the World Food Board, and appointed a preparatory commission to work out the details involved in accomplishing its designed objectives. This commission will meet in Washington not later than November 1, and the Conference will reconvene when the commission's report is ready.

The World Food Board proposes to apply to the international field two practices we found most helpful nationally. First, it was the existence of abundant food in our ever-normal granary which enabled us so rapidly to come to the aid of wartime Britain by supplying her quickly, and in the nick of time, with high-protein foods—milk, eggs, and meat. Second, it was the broadening of food consumption among low-income groups—by the school-lunch, food-stamp, and direct-distribution plans—which enabled us to build some measure of improved health in our people and prevent serious declines in farm incomes.

IN the ten years immediately preceding World War II, world population increased 200 millions. This population increase is the largest for a similar period in all history. It was as large as the combined populations of the United States, Great Britain, and Canada. Only the fact that death rates in two-thirds of the globe are three times what they are in these countries prevented a vastly greater increase.

But the world food supply is now 12 per cent per person lower than before the war. For despite tremendous losses of life in war, world population has increased 7 per cent since 1939. This means many more mouths to feed, though production has decreased at least 5 per cent the world over, probably more. To what extent can food production be increased today?

There are pessimists who cry out that it is of course impossible for the world to produce sufficient food to give all its people adequate diets. If these pessimists would faithfully study four documents issued by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics since 1940 they would discover that a complete revolution in agricultural production technology has occurred in the United States which made an absolute, irrevocable break with our immediate past. This revolution enabled us during war-time scarcities of labor, equipment and supplies to produce enough additional food, as compared with 1935-39, to provide for 50 million more people.

The publications are: "Technology on the Farm," August 1940; "Using Resources to Meet Food Needs," by Raymond P. Christensen, May 1943; "Farm Production in War and Peace," Glenn T. Martin and Martin R. Cooper, December 1945; and "Changes in Farming in War and Peace," Sherman E. Johnson, June 1946. The last three are processed and not much to look at, but they contain startling facts, convincingly presented. Moreover, Christiansen shows how, with not too drastic changes in its farm production and dietary patterns, the United States could readily provide adequate nutrition for a population twice its present size.

But this is undeniable: with due allowance for good weather, American agriculture in 1942-46 produced 20 per cent more for human use than it did in 1935-39; and this was achieved with a farm population which fell from 30 millions to 25, with 8 per cent fewer workers, and these having but 85 per cent the over-all efficiency of those available in pre-war days. Better and more widely used machines and electric power, improved strains of plants and animals, extended soil conservation practices, a scientifically devised system of price incentives, and much more highly efficient protection from insect pests and plant and animal diseases, all came together to form this new agricultural technology.

This technology rests on the solid foundation of long years of research by patient underpaid scientists in a vast federal-state network of agricultural institutions. Actually, most of the knowledge was available in the thirties, but its effective application was prevented by depression and drought. The war years enabled farmers to put it all to work together and the results astounded them and the workers in

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federal and state institutions alike. But already, the critics stand around reflecting about what can't be done or, alternatively, fearing the over-production they say will soon reappear.

WHY can't it be done, or why should there be overproduction if the objectives of FAO are carried out? Many other countries can do what we have done, given the proper methods, equipment, and incentives. World food production can be increased stupendously by global application of the newer agricultural technology. This is of prime interest to every farmer, businessman, worker, housewife, and person of good-will in the world. It means vast potential markets entered and expanded, new and profitable business, more jobs and better income and diet for workers, improved nutrition and health standards for millions.

Hunger is no longer a rule of nature. One man on the land can now feed ten or more off the land. In the United States, during the war, 10 million farm operators and workers fed a population of 140 million while we sent one-sixth of our food abroad. The world has no food to burn if all peoples get enough to satisfy their actual biological needs. Our own experience has demonstrated that high-level buying power means enormously increased domestic markets for food, but that the new farm technology could enable us to provide all this food and more. FAO's major aim is to apply this lesson of experience to the field of the entire world.

COPENHAGEN LETTER

A FREE WORLD *correspondent writes of impressions of the nation and capital, host to FAO.*

Copenhagen, Denmark, Sept. 1946.

The second conference of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization met in what is probably the only country in Europe where there is ample food. But what is not easy to find in Copenhagen is rooms. Because of Denmark's favorable food situation in an otherwise undernourished continent, the city is overflowing with visitors.

The nazi heel dug more lightly into this land of milk and honey than into any other on the Continent. The Danes say it was because the Germans wanted to save themselves some vacation spot in Europe after the war was over. They caused absolutely no material damage either in Copenhagen or elsewhere in the country and the rich farmlands of Denmark are producing to capacity today.

But the Danes will also tell you that there are things as bad as destruction of property. "I lay awake every night for five years," one Danish woman related, "listening to the sound of running feet on the sidewalk beneath my apartment, of challenges, outcries of Resistance men, screams, shots, silence. Then in the morning we would find bodies strewn before the house!"

This woman explained that the mental suffering of the Danes under the Germans was very keen. She pointed out the one building in Copenhagen destroyed by bombs. It was a large building that had been used by the Germans as a prison for Resisters. These latter had begged the British to bomb it, and through the Underground the event was arranged. Those within the building knew just where the careful British dive-bombers would dump their load, and sought to flee that portion. Some were killed in the bombing, but a large number were enabled to escape and to renew their war on the occupying forces. And, when the British planes flew over, in broad daylight, the whole city of Copenhagen turned out joyfully for the show, ignoring air raid sirens.

"When we knew we were free," this Danish woman asserted, "the whole nation had but one thought: What can we do for those who have suffered worse than we?"

The Danes were working at that idea—both commercially and non-commercially. In many countries the eggs you buy are stamped on their white shells: "Danmark." But the Danes are not satisfied with selling food. They have one large liner that leaves each week for Poland, to supply the free soup kitchens they maintain in every large city of that country.

Last winter in Paris public schools 200,000 undernourished children were fed the "gouter Danois," consisting of free bread and butter, meat and milk, every afternoon at four o'clock. This winter still more will receive this extra meal. During the past summer, many thousands of French children were received in Denmark for two months vacation in camps where they got plenty of fresh air and good food. Large amounts of food contributed by the Danes are also moving into Italy, to Finland, to Greece and other parts of Europe.

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ORIENTAL COLONIES: FERMENT AND CHANGE

by MARC T. GREENE

May it be that the Pan-Asiatic doctrine of Japan won the Pacific war after all? And where does that leave us? The author, world traveler and correspondent, long resident in the Orient, is presently on the staff of the Providence Journal, Providence, R. I.

[*See Picture Section, pages 43-47 incl.*]

THE Pacific and Asiatic colonial system, as we have known it for some four centuries, is doomed. The native unrest, manifested in unprecedented outbreaks in many places since the close of the war, can now be met in either of only two ways: (1) by such measures as will advance living-standards and, in some degree, meet native demands for self-determination, or, (2) by maintenance in many colonies of large standing armies.

The event that brought the Eastern colonial system as a whole to the crossroads was the temporary wresting by the Japanese of many areas from the Western colonial powers under the slogan "Asia for Asiatics."

At the commencement of the various Japanese invasions, it was evident to observers on the ground that the attitude of the great majority of the natives, except perhaps in the Philippines, was one of wait-and-see. What would the Japanese do? Would they improve the low living standards, permit a large measure of genuine autonomy, expand industry and economy for the benefit of the native instead of the occidental (often an absentee), obliterate race distinctions, and increase coolie wages—all of which were glibly promised? In short, would the Japanese really make good the slogan by which they were trying to bring the natives over to their side against the long-ruling white man?

FORTUNATELY for us, the Japanese soon made it clear to even the lowest coolie intellect that "Asia for Asiatics" meant, in operation, "Asia for the Japanese." It meant the use of the bodies of all other Asiatics as a magic ladder up which the imperial Jap would mount to the hegemony of Asia and ultimately of the world. It was also made unmistakenly apparent that, in Japanese eyes, the natives ought to assume this role with pride.

But do not hastily conclude that the slogan has lost its potency, even temporarily. It still has much appeal. And unless we tread warily in the Orient, the time will surely come when it will be raised again, emblazoned upon another flag, perhaps, than that of the erstwhile Rising Sun.

Japanese propaganda in the occupied territories, from Shanghai to Surabaya and from the Gilberts to New Guinea, focussed itself upon one point: the alleged exploitation of colonial peoples by Western powers.

"The colonial system," ran the argument, "is simply and solely a racket of Western capitalism. You have endured it, suffered under it, been starved by it for four centuries, since the days of Diaz and Da Gama. But the time has come and now we, imperial Japan, people divinely endowed to direct the destinies of all Asia, cast off from you the yoke of the West. Follow us and we shall guide you into the better day. Accept our benevolent guardianship into the realm of your true destiny. Understand and appreciate the real intentions of Japan, the power of the future."

Contemporaneously with this propaganda, the native Asiatic or Pacific islander discovered to his astonishment that the lordly white man, the Sailing God of the Samoans, was not, after all, invincible; discovered that his system—the old-established colonial system—was neither impregnable nor bullet-proof. No, nor was it ordained of Heaven. It could be overthrown, if only temporarily. Why, then, should it be accepted as inescapable and permitted to resume full functioning as of old? This is the state of mind at which millions of Asiatics have arrived as well as millions of other "non-Europeans" here and there about the world.

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THE case of "Indonesia," so-called, is very much to the point. The Dutch have held their great Eastern empire for upwards of three centuries. Throughout that period they have kept the natives to a low living-standard, and have shown little patience with native protests and resentment against this practice. A few years before the war they threw a drag-net across Java, Sumatra, the Celebes and smaller islands and gathered in a great number of "troublesome agitators." The lesser of these they sent to the "communist" concentration camp which is in an almost impenetrable part of the interior of Dutch New Guinea. The important—and therefore the more troublesome—they exiled indefinitely and without trial to various remote islands. Among this group were Soekarno, Hatta and Sjahrir. These men were sent, without their families, to a little isle called Banda Neira, in the Banda Sea. There the present writer found them and talked with them in July, 1938. They had not been told and they did not know how long their exile might be. The only charge against them was that they were among the leaders of the Javanese Nationalist Party. It was the Japanese who returned them to their homes.

Is it to be wondered, then, that from the time of the Japanese occupation of the Netherlands Indies the demand for Indonesian independence emerged with a determination and a strength it could not have acquired in half a century of the *status quo ante?* This is the strength with which we now have to reckon. And the situation in Java today in large measure approximates that of the whole colonial system.

We live in a fool's paradise if we believe that the Asiatics will ever again revert to their acknowledgment of the white man's "divine right." They have changed very markedly in their attitude toward the white man. The Japanese, defeated in the war, have, nevertheless, started something in the East—with indirect repercussions throughout the entire colonial system—that is already proving difficult to handle. To that extent, the Japanese did not lose their war after all.

The heyday of the white man as a more or less arrogant overlord in the East is over. That is all there is to it. No more will he set up his exclusive clubs, like in Shanghai, with the world's longest bar, and instruct his bearded and well-armed Sikh guards at the entrance on no account to permit the entrance of any Chinese. No more will the colonial potentate in his lavish offices in Batavia or Surabaya require native servants to kneel and clasp their hands before him, as in supplication, when they enter.

THE question, then, is posed us: what are we going to do about it?

As already suggested, two courses of action are open, and only two. Humanitarian reasons conjoin with expediency to urge the course that would avoid violence, repression, or a continued encouragement of the defensive attitude that Asia, as a whole, has maintained toward the West for these two or three centuries past. Above all that attitude must be overcome. The Japanese, by their persistent anti-European propaganda, have made that job more difficult than at any time during the past hundred years.

But if the colonial system as it has been is ended and a new regime is destined to replace it, that in no circumstances means we can turn all these dominated peoples loose to go it on their own, to "stew in their own juice."

The most important element in any future arrangement is economic. "Give us bread!" is the cry everywhere. If the Indonesians, for example, were hungry before, and they certainly were, their condition was opulence compared to the present. So with the Annamites, the Tonkinese, the British Malayans and the Indians.

Give us bread! It is a plea that must be answered, and until it is answered, political considerations remain in the background. The first thing to do in the East, in all the Asiatic colonies, is improve the living standard of the masses. The dispassionate atmosphere, which is indispensable for the solving of political problems, cannot be obtained until the paramount problem of food is successfully resolved. [*See article in this issue on Food and Agriculture Organization.*]

An incredible amount is and always has been written about starvation being preferable to deprivation of "freedom." Perhaps you and I feel that way. But the Asiatic masses definitely do not. Never having known very much about the thing called freedom anyway, they don't set as much store by it as, let us say, Patrick Henry may have done. Give them food and a chance to work, free from exploitation, and they will labor with a sustained vigor and effort hard for the West to understand.

The political element in any arrangement for the Asiatic colonies must be found in the Trusteeship system of the United Nations. Most emphatically, this system is both practical and practicable. Such political administration, complementing and aiding the improvement of economic conditions, would meet existing native demands for self-determination while fulfilling the responsibilities of the West toward these peoples.

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MOVIES

THE HOLLYWOOD LETTER

by ALLEN RIVKIN

YOUR doorbell rings. You answer. Standing there is a bright, smart-looking girl, an open notebook in her hand. She's pleasant, she apologizes for taking up your time, but she would like to ask you a few questions. She starts with something like this: "Madame, would you be interested in seeing a movie where three women fall in love with the same man for different but terribly exciting reasons?" You think about that for a moment and if a theme such as that interests you, chances are you'll say you would. Her next question might then be: "Of these titles, which would attract you to the theater more quickly—*Three Strange Loves, The Passion of Mr. Biddle* or *Women in Love?*" You think about that a moment and probably say that you like the first or the third titles. The questioner then makes a check in a column of her notebook page. Now the girl in front of you smiles. Looking at her book, she asks: "If this picture were made with Cary Grant playing the man and Irene Dunne, Rita Hayworth and Jennifer Jones playing the women—would that—?" Before she can finish, chances are you shout, if you are one of the fifty-six million weekly movie-goers in the U. S., "But, of course"

Madame, what has happened is that you have contributed an opinion of importance to a poll-taking organization known as Audience Research, Inc.—or, in the trade, A.R.I. Your opinion, together with the opinions of perhaps five thousand other movie-goers, will be tabulated, correlated and analyzed by Dr. George Gallup's boys and girls in offices in Princeton, N. J., New York and Hollywood. These opinions will then be presented to A.R.I.'s clients in the motion picture business—the producing organizations. From what you have said, these movie magnates will be guided in the production, sale and profit-potential of the film they are about to make. Thus has Hollywood left the old and sentimental phase of show business where chance, gamble and risk were the barriers and entered the new field of "be sure before you start." And, according to A.R.I., the producing companies can be sure, within 10% of what a picture will gross.

In the good old days (whenever they were!) a producer, director, writer or star would read a story, get wildly enthusiastic about it, develop it, put it on celluloid and, with fear and trembling, sneak it out to some remote spot not too far from Hollywood to let his audience tell him what he had. He'd watch their interest in his film magic, count the number of people who walked out on him, waited for his laughs, smiled when he heard the noses being blown and read his preview cards with more concern than he watched his checkbook—for the cards, in truth, were his checkbook! Then, according to the observations he had made in the darkened movie house, he would take his picture back to the cutting rooms, fix it here and there, improve this, snip that, re-shoot a sequence or make his music louder. Finally, he would call the press in to criticize. If he got rave notices, he'd ship the print to New York and, with further fear and trembling, wait for the New York reviews.

Now things are different.

This movie-maker turns his story over to the A.R.I. test-tubers and waits for the Want-to-See or Don't-Want-to-See. Those shop talk phrases —plus two more: Audience Penetration and

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Word-of-Mouth now fill the air in Hollywood conferences. The explanation of the Want-to-See is simple: when the pollster comes to your door and asks you the question, if you're enthused, you're a Want-to-See. If you shake your head at the theme, or at all the titles or at the cast, obviously you Don't-Want-to-See. Factors other than the synopsis of the theme of the story the pollster reads off to you determines these catch phrases, though, factors of which you are not conscious but of which the picture-makers definitely are. A book—let's take *The Hucksters*—is published. It zooms to huge sales, stays on the best-seller list for weeks, even months. Chances are you read it or have heard about it or someone talks about it over a dinner table. If the story appeals to you, already you are a Want-to-See; if it doesn't, you're a Don't.

Audience Penetration is something else again, but it does have to do with Want-to-Sees. If you've been exposed to *The Hucksters,* you've been "penetrated." But not enough, since that book may sell only a million copies and the movie-makers know there's a ninety-one million potential audience they can reach (although only fifty-six million actually pay cash at the box office). They've got to reach the rest of you. So they start bombarding you with publicity while the script is being written, while the picture is in production. They build up your Want-to-See, they Penetrate you—until they've got you eager and willing to stand in line for hours to get into the theater. But they don't show you the picture quite yet. The A.R.I. takes another sampling. Now the nice, bright girl stands at your door again. She has the title to tell you—a title you've seen in every paper you read, over the radio, in magazines, etc.; she also has the cast. You evince interest again—a greater interest than before, A.R.I. hopes—and that interest is again tabulated, correlated, analyzed. From a Want-to-See of five, let us say, they have now worked you up to a Want-to-See of sixty-five; and from a Penetration of next to nothing, you've been bombarded until you have been Penetrated and Want-to-See.

So you go to the picture. You like it. You tell your husband, your neighbor, your sister, anybody. The A.R.I. checks you again and thus gets what is known as Word-of-Mouth.

But before this happens, before the film ever appears in your theater, A.R.I. has furnished the studio with what they insist is a scientific preview. In Hollywood they have lists of persons who want to act as guinea pigs. Fifty to a hundred of them are invited to a theater in Hollywood and given a gadget called the Hopkins Televoting System. The guinea pig holds this flashlight-like device in his hands, his fingers on the dial. He watches the screen. He likes what he sees and he twists the dial to "Like." If he gets very excited watching the scene, he turns it all the way right to "Like Very Much." If he gets bored with the cinemantics, he snaps it left to "Dull," and all the way left to "Very Dull." The gadget is wired to flow into a central machine which, like a doctor's cardiogram, prints a waving line showing the guinea pig's approval or disapproval of what he's viewing. This is known to the trade as a Preview Profile and from it the picture-maker sees what he's got to sell.

So, finally, the gamble, the risks, the fear and trembling of show business is on its way out. It's all facts and figures now. We stand with automobiles, soap, shoes and radios. The mass market is such that we *must* turn out a profit-making product every time we go to bat—or else. And who among us want the *or else?*

On August 24, 1946, the Want-to-See on *The Jolson Story* was pretty impressive. By the time it opens in New York, it'll be very impressive. And by the time A.R.I. starts reporting the Word-of-Mouth to the studio, I hope it will be sensational—for, truly, *The Jolson Story* is a magnificent piece of film magic. Taking the highlights of the troubadour's life, Sidney Skolsky has produced from Stephen Longstreet's script one of the most moving, heart-warming and satisfying motion pictures it has been my pleasure to see in many a year. The story opens in Washington at the turn of the century where Asa Yoelson, the son of a cantor, suddenly finds himself the balcony soloist at an audience participation act in a burlesque house. From there it builds steadily, excitingly, solidly, with over twenty-five songs that Al Jolson made world-famous, until he is truly what his billing said of him—The World's Greatest Entertainer. Jolson is played as a lad by Scotty Beckett; then as a man by Larry Parks; and both of these portrayals are true and beautiful. When Parks sings *Mammy* he *is* Jolson; when he sings *April Showers* and *Rockabye Your Rockabye Baby* he is memorable. Go see this Technicolor picture. Let me bombard you so your Penetration will be high. And let your Word-of-Mouth be noisy, demanding and lusty. But don't think I'm trying to influence you. A.R.I. says that critics reach only about 12% of the movie-going public.

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BOOKS

FALL BOOKS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

by ALICE PAYNE HACKETT

Author of "Fifty Years of Best Sellers"

THE spotlight is brighter on the books about the late President Roosevelt than on any others announced for this coming fall season, both because of a great deal of advance publicity and curiosity and also because of real interest. Leading off on October 1st is Elliott Roosevelt's report of off-the-record conversations with his father that took place at the Big Three conferences, all of which, excepting Yalta, he attended as the President's aide. He reveals his father's private reactions to many important personalities at the conferences, intimate details of the social side of the meetings, and President Roosevelt's ideas about the future role of the United States in the world. There is a foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt to *As He Saw It.* (Duell, Sloan & Pearce.)

A warm, revealing and affectionate memoir of F. D. R. by his Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew,* is due just one month later, on November 1st, from Viking Press. Roosevelt, the man, is the theme, but there is also a great deal of important material on America's social progress and on the part Roosevelt played in shaping it. For October is scheduled another Roosevelt portrait, by Vice-Admiral Ross T. McIntire, called *White House Physician* (Putnam). A collection of Roosevelt's most important speeches, edited by B. D. Zevin, is entitled *Nothing to Fear,* (Houghton Mifflin). *Frontier on the Potomac,* by Jonathan Daniels (Houghton Mifflin, Oct. 29), will include many reminiscences of Roosevelt as well as study of Washington, the governmental city, and how it works. Although it is already published, *Thank You, Mr. President* (Harper), the annals of a White House reporter, Merriman Smith, must be included in a round-up of Roosevelt books for this fall.

The name of an influential statesman and author heads a provocative group of books on international affairs, with emphasis on the role of the United States. Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State, and author of *The Time for Decision,* presents his new book *Where Are We Heading?* (Harper) early in October. Again writing with the thought of time at our heels, he considers such questions as the function of the UNO in security against war and the problems of American foreign relations, particularly their deterioration in respect to the Soviet Union and the Latin American countries. Near the same date comes a noted economist's *For This we Fought* (Twentieth Century Fund). In this new book Stuart Chase faces such problems as atomic power and the guarantees of well-being and integrity to the individual. A collection of those remarkably devoid-of-sham editorials from *The New Yorker,* calling for straight and supra-national thinking, which were written by E. B. White, will also appear about the first week in October under the title *The Wild Flag* (Houghton Mifflin). An extremely valuable handbook entitled *United Nations,* by Louis Dolivet (Farrar, Straus) is due. This book is the one upon which the delegates of the Big Five on the Security Council are in complete agreement. Not only has it received their endorsements, but the endorsement of heads of delegations of many other nations, statesmen, diplomats, professors, and others. *Persistent International Issues* (Harper, Nov. 27) is a symposium, edited by George B. Huszar, on such subjects as Relief and Rehabilitation, Displaced Persons, Industry and Trade, Education, and Labor. The news analyst and author of *The Ramparts We Watch,* and other books, Major George Fielding Eliot, believes our security in this dangerous age lies in "offensive readiness." In *The Strength We Need* (Viking Press, Oct. 18) he defines what this readiness should consist of in men, material, and disposition of forces. William L. Borden, former Liberator pilot, also discusses the defense of the United States, in event of atomic warfare, in *The Revolution Is Strategy* (Macmillan, Oct. 16). Fifty-four notables of nine different countries consider the "sovereign state," its past, present, and the security of its future in *Leviathan's Crisis,* edited by Waldo R. Browne (Viking, Nov. 4). Among the writers are John Dewey, Thorstein Veblen, Walter Lippmann, Max Lerner, Lewis Mumford, Bertrand Russell, H. G. Wells, Jose Ortega y Gasset and Guglielmo Ferrero. A history of the decline and fall of capitalistic democracies of the past and a warning that such events have always been accomplished *By Vote of the People* is the substance of the book of that title by Willis J. Ballinger (Scribner, Oct.). There is a foreword by John Chamberlain.

Geography for Grownups (Harper, Oct.), by H. A. Calahan, is a popular and modern view of the whole world, its geography, geology, and astronomy, with an eye to future political conditions. John Roy Carlson, famous as the *Under Cover* man, looks at the machinations of anti-democratic organizations

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and individuals, which he believes are aimed particularly at World War II veterans, in *The Plotters* (Dutton, Nov.). Governor Ellis G. Arnall of Georgia views national issues from the standpoint of an administration which has been noteworthy for its fight against the Ku Klux Klan, southern reaction, and monopolies. His book, coming on November 6th, is *The Shore Dimly Seen* (Lippincott). The ways of the South are again looked at by a Southerner, Stetson Kennedy, in *Southern Exposure* (Doubleday, Oct.). *Glass House of Prejudice* (Morrow, Oct.) is a study of prejudice toward minority groups in this country, how to recognize and overcome it. The author, Dorothy W. Baruch, psychologist and teacher and special consultant during the war to the West Coast War Manpower Commission, presents many case histories. In *Color Blind* (Simon & Schuster, Oct.), a white woman looks at the Negro. Margaret Halsey, in her recent book, *Some of My Best Friends Are Soldiers,* attacked race prejudice via fiction; her new book is a realistic account of how prejudice has been fostered and what can be done about it. The race problem is the theme of a novel scheduled for September, *Quality* (Bobbs-Merrill), by Cid Ricketts Sumner.

There are numerous books on the publishers' fall lists about the Pacific countries and Far East. A general introductory volume on the relationships of the two races in the Far East is *White Man—Yellow Man* (Abingdon-Cokesbury, Nov. 11), by Arva C. Floyd, who is Professor of Missions and Oriental History at the Candler School of Theology in Emory University. Hernando Abaya, a Philippine journalist, who was in the Islands all through the Japanese occupation, gives an exposé of Philippine collaboration in *Betrayal in the Philippines* (Wyn, Oct.). The American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, sponsors a volume by a Professor of Sociology in the University of Hawaii, Andrew E. Lind. It is *Hawaii's Japanese: an Experiment in Democracy,* coming in November from Princeton University Press, in which Professor Lind describes how race problems in Hawaii were solved during the war. An especially fine book on China is promised by the new publishing firm, William Sloane Associates, in late October. The authors, Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, members of *Time's* Chungking bureau, give a dramatic and thorough account of the past decade of turmoil in China—war, civil war, and the part America has played. The book is *Thunder Out of China.* A study of the paradoxical Japanese mentality and culture is *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (Houghton Mifflin, Nov. 24), by Ruth Benedict, author of *Patterns of Culture.* A young Japanese, Taru Matsumato, brought up in the Christian religion, tells how he has fought against the old ways of his country for a more democratic life in *A Brother Is a Stranger* (John Day, Oct.). *Raffles of Singapore* (Doubleday, Nov. 7) will be another interesting biography by the author of *The Soong Sisters.* Emily Hahn tells a great deal about the operation of the old East India Company and the British colonial policy in the Orient as well as the story of the career of the

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founder of Singapore. *Where the People Sing* (Knopf, Oct. 10) gives an interesting picture of Maori life, particularly the part that music plays in it. The author, John L. Zimmerman, was a Marine officer invalided to New Zealand where he gathered material for this book. India is the setting for two novels. *The Land and the Well* (John Day, Sept.) is the story of a poor Hindu peasant family, scratching a living from the soil. Hilda Wernher was assisted in the writing and the details of Hindu life by Huthi Singh. Rumer Godden has written a number of novels about India. Her newest, coming October 15th, is *The River* (Little, Brown). *Divided India,* by Robert Aura Smith (Whittlesey House, Nov. 25), is an objective study of the whole embroiled situation in India, including India's relations with the U. S. and U. N.

Turning north and south from the U. S. we come to *Alaska Today,* by B. W. Denison (Cattell, Oct. 15)—its natural resources and industrial opportunities—and to a varied assortment of new books on the Latin American countries. *A Portrait of Latin America,* edited by Ann Lyon Haight, to be published in October by Hastings House, with text in Spanish and English, on life in the Latin American countries, will also contain 175 etchings, lithographs, and wood-cuts by leading Latin American artists. Miguel Covarrubias, noted Mexican artist, who wrote *Island of Bali,* has a new book, *Mexico South: The Isthmus of Tehuantepec* (Knopf, Oct. 24), on the history, social customs and traditions of Mexico, with reproductions of Covarrubias' paintings, drawings, and photographs. *A Matter of Love,* by Helen MacKinley (Harper, Oct. 9), is a group of light, sophisticated stories portraying life in a Mexican village. The author has also written *Modern Mexican Painters.* Two travel guides are *You Must Go to Mexico,* an account of a motor trip over the Pan American Highway by Cecil and Fred Carnes (Ziff-Davis, Oct.) and *All the Best in Cuba,* by Sydney Clark (Dodd, Mead, Oct. 8). A novel of voodoo is *The Beast of the Haitian Hills* (Rinehart, Nov.), by Philippe Thoby-Marcelin and Pierre Marcelin, authors of *Canapé Vert.* Two pictures of Puerto Rico will be presented in *The Stricken Land* (Doubleday, Nov. 14) and *Fiesta at Anderson's House* (Holt, Nov. 14). The first is written by the former Governor of Puerto Rico, Rexford G. Tugwell, who calls Puerto Rico "land of milk and honey wrung dry." The second is a novel by Scott Graham Williamson, a devastating picture of economic and social ills in this American dependency.

Across Europe, from England to Russia, to Spain, Europe in conflict, is reported in a group of books by newspapermen, novelists, and students. Every layer of society in a "dying Europe" is discussed in Curzio Malaparte's *Kaputt* (Dutton). A CBS correspondent's autobiography is *Not So Wild a Dream* (Knopf, Oct. 10). The career of the well-known newsman, Eric Sevareid, took him from the American Midwest to wartime Paris, London, Washington, Brazil, China, Burma, India, Italy, and Germany. *This Is the Story* (Houghton Mifflin, Nov. 24) records David Cohn's travels in 1945 from bombed London to France, Italy, over the Ledo Road to China. Stephen Spender, the English poet attached to the cultural division of UNO went through Germany and France in the summer and fall of 1945 to inquire into the lives and ideas of the intellectuals and the condition of their libraries. He kept a journal to be published in October as *European Witness* (Reynol). That genial English correspondent in America, C. V. R. Thompson, who wrote *I Lost My English Accent,* will tell *How to Like an Englishman* (Putnam, Oct.). And *Only an Ocean Between* (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Oct. 26), by Lella Secor Florence and K. B. Smellie, compares the life, geography, climate, resources, customs and history of Britain and America, along with 100 photographs.

Time of Delirium is what Hermann Rauschning, once President of the Danzig Senate and author of *The Revolution of Nihilism* and other books, calls world affairs today. He discusses particularly the future of Germany and the basic conflict between the western powers and the Soviet Union. His book will appear on October 8th under the Appleton-Century imprint. *Taras' Family,* by Boris Gorbatov (Cattell, Oct.), is a novel of the Ukraine under German occupation and *All Thy Conquests,* by Alfred Hayes (Howell, Oct.), of Rome under the Allied occupation. Recently published in *Behind the Iron Curtain* (Fireside Press), the experiences of an American correspondent, George Moorad, in Russia, with an introduction by W. L. White. In *A Guide to the Soviet Union* (Dial Press, Sept.), William Mandel answers the questions Americans ask about life in Russia today. *Austrian Requiem* (Putnam, Oct.) is the story of Kurt von Schussnig, the Austrian Chancellor who was kept in prison throughout the war by Hitler. T. S. Eliot has written a foreword to *The Dark Side of the Moon* (Scribner, Oct.), eye-witness accounts of what happened in Poland between 1939 and 1945. The case for Mihailovich versus Tito is presented by a former R.A.F. officer in *Ally Betrayed* (Prentice, Oct. 14). One of the most interesting novels of the coming season is *Thieves in the Night* (Macmillan, Oct. 29), by Arthur Koestler, who wrote *Darkness at Noon,* etc. The scene is one not treated in fiction before, the building of a Hebrew communal settlement in Palestine. *Forging of a Rebel* (Norton, Nov.) is the autobiography of Arturo Barea and an account of events in Spain from the beginning of this century up to World War II.

Official reports on the war and war services comprise a good-sized group of the fall books. General Marshall's, General Arnold's and Admiral King's official reports are to be published in one volume on December 4th by Lippincott, with a foreword by the historian, Walter Millis. The official story of the naval air war, with photographs and maps, edited by Lt. A. R. Buchanan, *The Navy's Air War* (Harper) is coming on October 23rd. Lieut. Gen. Lewis H. Brereton, who commanded the First

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Airborne Army, who was in the Philippines when Japan struck, in North Africa, and who built up the Tactical Air Force for the invasion of Europe, has prepared *The Brereton Diaries* of the war in the air in the Pacific, Middle East and Europe, 3 Oct., 1941 to 7 May, 1945. They are to be published by Morrow in September. *Air Transport at War,* by Reginald M. Cleveland (Harper, Oct. 9) will contain the records and photographs, from official files, of the Air Transportation Services. The story of the Naval Air Transport Service, *Operation Lifeline* (Ziff-Davis, Nov.), profusely illustrated with photographs by Joe Rosenthal, the AP combat photographer famous for his picture of the Marines raising the flag on Iwo Jima, will have text by James Lee. *A Soldier's Album,* pictorial history with running commentary by Col. R. Ernest Dupuy and Lt. Col. Herbert Bregstein, will be released by Houghton Mifflin on November 26th, in plenty of time for Christmas. The complete story of wartime civilian censorship, radio and press included, will be told in *Weapon of Silence* (University of Chicago Press, Oct. 21) by Theodore Koop, assistant director of the Office of Censorship. The Chairman of the WPB, Donald Nelson's account of American war production, *Arsenal of Democracy,* has already been published by Harcourt, Brace. *Command Performance* (Howell, Soskin, Oct.), by Hector Bolitho, is the diary report of the R.A.F. and A.A.F. battle against German submarines just after the invasion of Europe. In *Under the Red Sea Sun* (Dodd, Mead, Oct. 29), Commander Edward Ellsberg, expert in deep sea rescue work and author of *Hell on Ice,* etc., tells of the rebuilding of the smashed Italian naval base at Massawa under pressure of time and heat. Drew Middleton, New York *Times* correspondent, will give sidelights on the war in such places as Algiers, Casablanca, Saint Lo and Aachen in *Our Share of Night* (Viking Press, Oct. 25). *Lifeline to a Promised Land* (Vanguard Press, Oct. 24) is by a special representative of the U. S. Department of State, Ira A. Hirschmann, who was on a mission during the war to save Jewish refugees and others in the Balkan countries. Long before the war *The Coast Watchers* (Oxford University Press, Oct.) were established in Australia, the Solomons, New Guinea, and on other Pacific coasts. During the war they performed valiant service, as described by Commander Eric A. Feldt. Their messages and communications were important factors in such Allied victories as Guadalcanal and Tulagi. Their code name was *Ferdinand,* for the bull who didn't like to fight. *American Sahib* (John Day, Oct.) is the journal of one year in which John Frederick Muehl was attached to the British Indian Army. The first account of the war from the enemy viewpoint to be announced is *The Lost War* (Knopf, Sept. 26). The author, Masuo Kato, was an American-educated Domei reporter in Washington at the time of Pearl Harbor. He was interned for six months and then sent back to Japan. His account of the motivation of Japan, the home front, bombings, and capitulation is both newsworthy and, consciously or not, revealing of Japanese mentality.

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The Machine and the Will

THE UNITED NATIONS: A HANDBOOK ON THE NEW WORLD ORGANIZATION, by Louis Dolivet, with a preface by Trygve Lie, Farrar, Straus. 1946. 152 *pages.* $1.75.

The other day Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago took a leave of absence in order to devote himself to adult education: the time, he said in effect, is too short for us to be fooling around with youngsters when the very survival of the world may depend upon whether the so-called adults can rouse themselves to the world's danger. Whether you want to exclude the youngsters would depend on your time-table for destruction. My own feeling is that we must work in the short run with adults and in the long run with the youngsters: in the short run to have a world left, and in the long run to give it meaning and value. Louis Dolivet's book on the United Nations is must-reading for both groups. It is a perfectly disciplined, remarkably clear little book which compresses into less than a hundred pages the working scheme of the United Nations, and adds another fifty pages of useful appendices. I cannot imagine a better execution of the job whose limits Dolivet has marked out for himself.

The limits are clear when you remember that the book is a handbook, and not a treatise, nor a polemical attack or defense. I am sure that another book must eventually be written which will take sharper and more pronounced positions on the issues Dolivet raises. But I am sure also that this book had to be written first, before the other one could be. The remarkable thing is that while Dolivet set himself to write a non-partisan account of the machinery and principles of the UN, he has not avoided any of the difficult issues with which the subject bristles. What he has done in discussing them, after raising them, is to explore the widest common ground of assent between the big powers and the small nations, the Western sphere of influence and the Russian sphere. "The only detachment," Lord Acton used to say, "is that of the dead." Dolivet's book belies that. He has written a book at once detached and alive, and the reason is that he is a passionate partisan of the idea of world unity and world morality. I like a phrase he uses when he calls the delegates to the UN Assembly "ambassadors to the world as a whole." The phrase applies far better to the author himself than it does to most of the delegates.

The book bristles with problems of constitutional structure and power: does the UN Assembly have real power and functions, or is it a rubber stamp for the Security Council? How about the projects for weighted representation in the Assembly? How can a union of sovereign states find the power that goes beyond national sovereignty in order to punish sovereign states for aggression? How can the Security Council act as both peace-maker and policeman? How can the Military Staff Committee use the armed force of the world effectively and still work for disarmament? And how can we reconcile the already-classic veto power of the Council's permament members with a system of sanctions which will not turn the UN into a cloudcuckooland? Dolivet's answers to these thorny questions are always interesting, although a shade on the side of optimism. It is because he does not flinch in tackling these problems that his book is more than the outline indicated by its modest title: it is a constitutional study in the best sense, taking account of the letter and spirit of the law together, and of the living matrix of political practice from which letter and spirit arise.

Dolivet has carefully maintained a perspective which is all too often neglected in the newspaper and radio discussions: he has not concentrated on the Security Council and the Assembly but has given weight to the Economic and Social Council and the other non-dramatic agencies. In the long run he is right in believing that these will do more toward shaping a livable world than the more strictly political and military agencies of the UN.

Yet the fact remains that in short-run terms the question of world survival may depend on how well the highly controversial political agencies function. Dolivet's answer is that, regarded as a piece of machinery, the UN has everything necessary to make it work. He has convinced me that the machine is there. The real question is whether we have the will to make it work.

Here I am more bearish than Dolivet, and my skepticism is so basic that it extends even to the machinery. The fact is that the machinery has been so constructed that it will be wholly helpless in the face of the breakdown of great-power unity and the further corrosion of the already-deeply-corroded world moral sense. Let me illustrate by the problem of the veto power, which raises the most embarrassing question in the book. What happens, asks Dolivet, if nation X is attacked by nation Y, and Y is a friend or ally of a permanent member of the Security Council equipped with the veto power? (I'll make it even more complex: what if X and Y start fighting—perhaps Greece and Yugoslavia—and each blames the other as aggressor, and each has a "friend" equipped with veto power? Or I can think of another possibility: suppose a group of irresponsible military leaders in big-power X start an attack on big-power Y or small-nation Y, and X finds it convenient to back up its generals, and it has big-power Z as a convenient "friend" with a veto power on the Council?)

Dolivet wrestles manfully with the question he raises, as he would do with the additional questions I have raised. He agrees that if such events happen the UN would be helpless. But he adds that, after all, it is a "theoretical" question. If so, I submit it is one which may very easily become an intensely practical question. I suspect that the crux of Dolivet's answer is that "the whole United Nations concept is based on the morality and unity of the big powers who have fought so brilliantly together precisely against the aggressions by the Axis pow-

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ers." The tragedy is that the morality and unity of the big powers are precisely the weak spot of world peace. The UN is simply an effort to give expression to the existing state of that morality and unity which, despite the common fight in the past against fascist aggression, is at present neither unified nor moral. And there is the added tragedy that the UN, like the machinery of diplomacy outside the UN, is in many instances being used by big powers and small not to cement the peace but as a jousting ground on which they jockey for advantage in the next war.

Does this mean we must surrender to despair? It does not. Dolivet's book is in itself the healthiest antidote to despair which I have read in the past year. It does, however, mean we must not expect the UN to carry a greater burden than it is cut out to carry. It is, as I have said, machine and not will. The will must be ours. If we can develop that will, the UN enables us to use it effectively for peace. And Dolivet is sensible enough and unhysterical enough to see that the success of the UN does not depend on a single world imperium, or on a political and economic standardization of the world, or on an easy resolution of the profound political and moral differences between the existing national systems. He knows that even diverse political religions can be kept in bounds, as the diverse spiritual religions have been kept in the past from shattering the world. In a harsh age he has kept his head and his courage. MAX LERNER

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AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MAKING 1932-1940: A Study in Responsibilities, by Charles A. Beard. Yale University Press, 338 pages, $4.00

The events leading up to the compulsory reentry of the United States on the world stage on December 7, 1941, ought to be a fruitful subject for historians. They ought to show the diminishing focus of the 1930s, the increasing unanimity of all the common peoples and the peculiar interpretations by democratic politicians of the wishes of the citizens they represented. These last, in the United States during the period 1932-1940, did not do much credit to the public candor and realism of democratic government. Why and whether that must always be so is material for the most searching inquiry, but Professor Charles A. Beard, despite his title, has not conducted such an inquiry in his current publication.

His opening chapters seem to propose such an inquiry, as he examines and dismisses the famous charges that World War II was brought on by the isolationism of the U. S. Senate die-hards in 1919 or by the subsequent indifference of the American people. But the remaining nine-tenths of the book are devoted instead to this question: "At what point in time during these 'fateful years' did the President (Roosevelt) and the Secretary (of State Hull) decide

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that the policy of neutrality and isolation cherished by the people of the country was untenable and announce to the public that another foreign policy —one opposed to it—was in the best interest of the United States?"

Mr. Beard thereupon develops in exhausting detail the shatteringly unamazing information that the New Deal between 1932 and 1940 was: (1) explicitly uninterested in putting the United States into the League of Nations; and (2) "opposed to war." Year by year, month by month, out of the Congressional Record, the newspaper reports, books, magazines and other publications, he gives the record.

Political pronouncements are quoted at face value, thus compounding the hypocrisies of the politicians by the special hypocrisy of Mr. Beard. Voters assume, and Mr. Beard knows, that politicians' words do not mean exactly what they say; but historians are more sharply judged on their wordage. Mr. Beard's disingenuousness is exposed chiefly in his omission of any summary of what he had tried to prove, any conclusion whatsoever.

He also omits any account of the international outlook of the American people between 1932 and 1940; an outlook that was reflected well enough in all its oddities by President Roosevelt. This public view was composed of the notions that America had won the first World War, had paid for it, had not been repaid, had taken no benefits at the peace treaties, had disapproved of the benefits its ex-Allies had taken and was not flattered by the outspoken dislike with which its ex-Allies had rewarded it. Whatever one may say of this outlook, it was the major fact in American foreign policy of the period. No successful politician could have defied it to urge participation in the League of Nations; and Roosevelt did not.

According to Beard, Roosevelt first anticipated a general war toward the end of 1937. He goes on to show that Roosevelt and everybody else in public office in the United States hammered out denunciations of war from 1938 through the fall of Poland, the Baltic States, Norway, Denmark, The Netherlands, Belgium and France, and the Battle of Britain, while in most cases advocating aid to the Allies.

This seems peculiar but understandable now, but Mr. Beard does not explain that, though American Foreign policy is generally committed to favoring the dominance of the democratic form of government on the continent of Europe (not opposed to any dominant European power, as Beard says), it is not necessarily committed to waging war for such dominance. Confronted with unprecedented horrors abroad, American policymakers in 1940 certainly weighed thoughtfully the practical possibilities of doing business, without war, in a world dominated by the Axis.

Opposition to war is neither more nor less sensible than an uncompromising opposition to cancer. Nearly everybody disapproves of war and cancer but those who die of them usually have very little to say about contracting them. The candidates' vilification of war in the 1940 campaign meant about as much as declarations of faith in a benevolent God. "I oppose war," was merely an act of piety in any sensible candidate but threw no light on destiny. Mr. Beard quotes such acts of piety for about one hundred pages, for a purpose he does not explain.

The purpose may be to suggest that President Roosevelt either lied to the American people about America's inevitable role in the world and in war or was criminally ignorant and unprepared for Pearl Harbor, while unwittingly inviting it. Such an explicit accusation might have constituted the missing final chapter of the book, but it must remain suppositious. Otherwise, he seems to have confused and littered the history of the 1930's, already a morass of evasions, hypocrisies and schizophrenias among whole peoples as among politicians.

The world has changed since the 1930's, notably in the sense that the United States is a member of the United Nations and entirely committed to a responsible co-existence with the rest of the nations of the earth. The events of the 1930's will not be repeated, any more than they repeated the events before World War I, nor have Mr. Beard's researches in them any but an academic value. There is a possibility, however, that the real and concealed point of Mr. Beard's book is that World War II was wasted effort, that the world (or at least the United States) is not much better off now than in 1940 and that it might have been preferable to let the aggressors of 1940 plunge on, over some hypothetical cliff of their own. DAVID CORT

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A Great Dissenter

BRANDEIS: A FREE MAN'S LIFE, by Alpheus Thomas Mason. The Viking Press, New York, 1946, 692 pages, $5.00

Professor Mason of Princeton has given us a full-length portrait of the "People's Attorney" in this remarkable volume which is based on access to the great mass of the Brandeis papers and letters and on frequent personal intercourse with the distinguished ex-Justice in the closing months of his life. It is the fourth book that Professor Mason has written in the last fifteen years on the legal, political and social aspects of Brandeis' work. The present biography is divided into five parts. After tracing the ancestry and the early life of Brandeis from his birth in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1856 to his graduation from the Harvard Law School in 1877 and his establishment as a lawyer in Boston, the author devotes Part II of his book to Brandeis' battles for the public's rights against various New England monopolies like the Boston Traction Company, the United Shoe Machinery Company, and Charles Mellen's New Haven Railway empire. In Part III, with his intervention in the famous Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, Brandeis comes onto "the national stage" to contend for economic justice in the garment trades, the fixing of railroad rates and the recognition of the rights of labor through collective bargaining to have a voice in the policies of the great industries of the country. Political democracy, he insisted, must be supplemented by industrial democracy. Part IV describes Brandeis' activities in national politics as an enthusiastic Progressive, disappointed at La Follette's failure to secure the nomination of 1912, but staunchly supporting Wilson with facts and counsel in his fight for reform of the currency, the tariff and the trusts. Two long chapters deal with the most important event in Brandeis' life: namely, his nomination as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court by Wilson on January 28, 1916, and his confirmation more than four months later by a vote of 47 to 22 in the Senate. During the long struggle all the conservative elements of the country were lined up against Brandeis. Ex-President Taft called him "a muck-raker, an emotionalist for his own purposes, and a socialist." Fifty-five prominent citizens of Boston protested against his appointment as unfit as would be that of Samuel Gompers. The objection of the Bar Association was signed by Taft, Elihu Root, Moorfield Storey, Joseph H. Choate, Simeon E. Baldwin, and Francis Rawle, all former presidents of the Association. But before Justice Brandeis had finished his 23 years of distinguished service in the Court, most of his former detractors had come to agree with the tribute paid to him by President Roosevelt in accepting his resignation in February 1939: "The country has needed you through all these years, and I hope you will realize, as all your friends do, how unanimous the nation has been in its gratitude to you." The fifth and final part of Professor Mason's book deals with Brandeis "In the Temple of the Law." Perhaps the most interesting chapter in it is the comparison between the two great "dissenters," Brandeis and Holmes, in their temperament and their conception of liberalism; a comparison which redounds rather to the credit of the younger Justice. Contrary to the popular opinion, however, the bulk of Brandeis' written opinions (454 out of 528) were in agreement with the majority of the Court.

Professor Mason does not neglect the many "extrajudicial" interests of Louis D. Brandeis: his generous charities, his promotion of education, his leadership of the Zionist movement in America, his constant efforts for the improvement of labor-management relations, and the idyllic character of his family life—a man of simple tastes and unostentious habits in spite of his fortune of three million dollars. The one criticism of Professor Mason's fine volume that I would venture is the disproportionate amount of space (228 pages, or nearly a third of the book) given to a meticulous detail of the early contests with the public utilities in New England (Part II).

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Big Power Rivalry

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, by Sidney Morrell. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1946. 339 pages $3.50

We are now beginning to read post-war books destined to furnish footnotes for scholarly works of 1953. "Spheres of Influence", optimistically labeled an "exceptional first-hand account", will doubtless yield tasty morsels for the fact-finding academician of the next decade.

Until then, there are two ways of evaluating this book. One is, to classify it as that inevitable literary phenomenon called "valuable contribution." Mr. Morrell does indeed contribute to popular understanding of Big Three relationship. His book contains much scattered material that has not been available to the general public.

But, and that is a second way of evaluation, the reader is presented with both too much and too little. This book whisks speedily across critical zones of power conflict in four countries: Iran, Greece, Yugoslavia, Italy. That is a lot of ground. Pressed into little more than three-hundred pages, it proves too much for thorough analysis. All of Italy, for instance, is covered in a meagre fifty pages. That is far too little.

The chapter on Greece is the strongest and best-documented. Material on organization and development of the Greek National Liberation Front (EAM) is hard to find anywhere else in similar detail. The author is strongly anti-Communist. His chapter on Greece is particularly colored by this point of view. But his factual data stands up well.

Mr. Morrell speaks rather kindly of pro-Axis collaborationists in both Greece and Yugoslavia; but I can see no reason why even a militant anti-Communist should lean over backwards to formulate apologies for General Mikhailovitch's Chetnicks and General Zervas' EDES. That way lies purely emotional red-baiting.

Sidney Morrell was a European correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph,* before he went to work for British and United States government agencies in 1940. It is difficult to escape the impression that he ached to write press dispatches while he was in government service, and that he relieved this frustration by pouring some of the pent-up wordage into "Spheres of Influence."

This is a timely book. No question about that. It must have been written very rapidly. That may account for its unevenness. It also must have been produced very quickly. The publishers deserve an extra quota of book paper, or a bindery priority, for that performance. But in too many parts, this book remains two-dimensional journalism: flat, lacking in depth.

Sidney Morrell has, thus, written just another mediocre important book: the sort of thing anyone seriously interested in big power relationship has to read, as a matter of course; but essentially merely a quick, competent wrap-up job. MARTIN EBON

At the Measure of Man

FOR ALL MANKIND, by Leon Blum, translated by W. Pickles. The Viking Press, $2.50

Future historians, while studying the great French theorists of socialism, will perhaps bestow less praise on Leon Blum than on Jean Jaurès. But fortunately for us all, Blum, unlike the great socialist leader of 1914, was not assassinated on the eve of a world war. In his French and German prisons and later, after the liberation, he was able to take an important part in the shaping of a new French and European spirit so that his moral and political influence will probably be considered more effectual and more far-reaching than that of his illustrious predecessor. In fact, already today this "elder statesman," as Blum is always called in America, appears—besides that young French leader emerged from World War II, Charles de Gaulle—to be the only truly prophetic figure of new France.

It is true that the prophetic quality of this elegant and sophisticated writer, this wise and profoundly human political leader, has not always been recognized. After the collapse of France, it became a cheap joke to quote certain articles written by Blum before Hitler rose to power, stating that such an event would never come to pass. And people were eager to blame the Popular Front Government, headed by Blum, for not having prevented

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certain catastrophic preludes to World War II as, for instance, the conquest of Spain by the Nazi-Fascists. Now in "For All Mankind"—which in French is entitled "A l'Echelle Humaine," that is to say "At the Measure of Man"—Leon Blum takes a brilliant revenge. Indeed, in this book, written in 1941, he not only predicted the overwhelming victory of the United Nations but also foresaw exactly the psychological and political structure of postwar Europe, announcing with astonishing precision the main tasks which would dominate the postwar world: (1) the reconciliation of planned production and consumption with free development of the personality and the individual; (2) the integration of a tremendously powerful Russian state into a European order (the communist parties must cease to be foreign sectors within their nations and Russia to be an isolated, intolerant and extra-European power); (3) the establishment of a true League of Nations which would boldly and openly be set up as a super state—on a level above national sovereignties.

These prophetic views emerge, in fact, from what at first glance seems to be simply an explanation of France's collapse in 1940, a defense of democracy and socialism in that country. But in proving that democracy did not fail, that only the French bourgeoisie failed and that its role is definitely finished, Blum outlines his general political philosophy: political democracy cannot live without being linked to social democracy, and in no country can democracy flourish without being part of the broader "International Popular Front," that is to say a better League of Nations.

It may be that this philosophy is not very sensational. Blum himself modestly admits that. But then truth is never as sensational as are lies. However, truth needs prophets. And I believe that never has the moral-social-political trilogy preached by Blum been presented more logically, with more passionate eloquence, with more true human emotion and, at the same time, more spiritual serenity. This book is like a broad and majestic stream which runs with powerful rhythm through the tragic and noble scenery of France while at the horizon all other countries are present and visible—a stream which finally flows into the immense ocean of universal human brotherhood. It is on account of this universal and human tendency that an English translation of such a typical French book became imperative. And it is also this universal and human character which explains the extremely interesting fact that even before there was an English translation this book, dedicated by Blum expressly to the French youth, was translated into the German language. Indeed, if the "re-education" of Germany should ever become possible, this miracle might be achieved through this intelligent and moving book, written by a man who is so magnificently all that which the Nazi barbarians hated and despised: a democrat and a moralist, a Frenchman and a Jew.

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Does Time Remain?

WHILE TIME REMAINS by Leland Stowe. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1946, 379 *pages.* $3.50

There was a time when history moved slowly, when books recording it had reasonable accuracy for a decade at least. That time is past. Though the manuscript of *While Time Remains* was completed in April of this year it is as much dated as this review is likely to be, though it goes to press only a week after submission. Such is the change of events today.

As in the past, Mr. Stowe reports events as he sees them—simply, accurately, interpretatively. And if, as has happened consistently during his professional life, events run over him, he picks himself up, moves along with them and tells us what it's been like. He's been doing that for twenty years in Europe, Asia and Latin America, and in this book tries to appraise the world today.

The steps leading to the thesis that salvation lies in world government are long, laborious and sometimes labored. The first is sizeable, consisting of an inventory of events, attitudes and reactions predominantly growing out of the war. We cannot agree with Mr. Stowe that the impact of the atom bomb was paralytic. We cannot agree with the allegation that the fractured atom created the symptom complex of all-pervading fear, shock, dizziness and numbness. Mr. Stowe wishes us to believe it has. For if it were true, the remainder of his book would be academic. The murder of Palestine, the war in India, the violence in China would be chimera. And the conference in Paris, and later the General Assembly of the UN in New York would settle down to the serious business of shaping a world government before another critical year has elapsed. But Mr. Stowe, and we, unhappily know that significance of the atom bomb is far from comprehended. And least of all to fully grasp it and take world leadership in shaping a sensible policy toward its control was the present administration, according to the author. His indictment of the Truman Administration is sharp and critical.

We take the second step—into Russia, "Soviet" Europe and Asia. Having only lately returned from the new Europe, it is important to read the sweep of Mr. Stowe's report.

The third step is large and slippery. In broad strokes we cover fascism, communism, democracy. His judgments are critical. His report of the tragedy of Greece, of the persuasive christianizing, democratizing of the British, which I saw over a year ago, is shaking. The conclusion is as in the beginning: What is our last step? World government or world anarchy? Does time remain?

JOSEPH HIRSH

Stalin and the Russians

BEHIND SOVIET POWER: Stalin and the Russians, by Jerome Davis, The Reader's Press, 120 *pages,* $1.00

After Brooks Atkinson, Jerome Davis on Russia, is like a cool breeze on a hot day. Davis of course, has equipment which Atkinson—in common with too many other reporters of the Russian scene—lacks: intimate knowledge of the language, long periods of residence in the Soviet Union and the sharp perceptions of a trained sociologist. In his judgments, he is always primarily the Social Scientist and only collaterally a journalist; this gives his interpretations a quality of depth strikingly absent from other recent "clarifications" about the Soviet Union.

Because the crucial problem of our time is how to confute the atomic stock-pilers by living in harmony with Russia, the most challenging portions of the book are those that consider the international motivations of the Soviet leaders vis-a-vis the capitalist world. With regard to Europe, the author points out that the Soviet economic set-up has an undeniable attraction for its neighbors; that therefore, it finds it unnecessary to impose Socialism on them—its only insistence is that they never again be used as catspaws for the anti-Soviet designs of other powers. He gives much attention to the charges of Russian designs on Poland and Iran, respectively. On the basis of personal investigation, he makes out a strong case that the accusations are in essence, inspired, and the propaganda of Russophobes. Dr. Davis sees no fundamental Soviet antipathy toward an England presently committed to mild Socialism. Russia *is* opposed to the colonial

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policy of the British, as well as those of the French and the Dutch—but then, so are all devotees of Democracy, today.

As for the United States, Russia needs goods and America, if it is to avoid another depression, needs markets. There are no basic causes for dispute between the two nations, there are only causes for mutual distrust. On the Russian side an amelioration of its present strict censorship would go far. On ours, one way would be to place copies of Jerome Davis' book in the hands of countless citizens. For our American public still has much to learn about our great Eastern co-adventurer in the quest for world peace. HARVEY J. BRESLER

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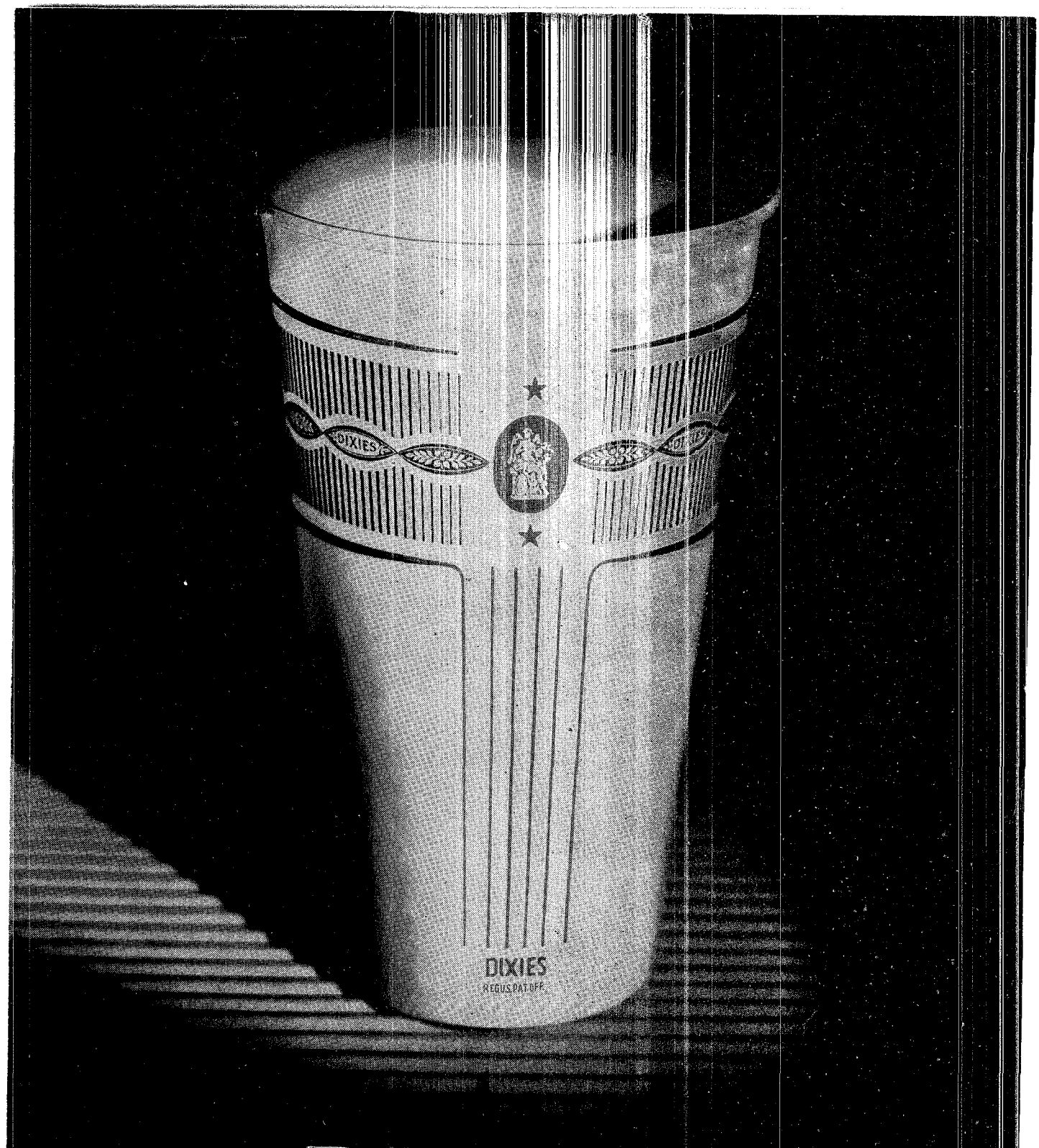

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